Cambaceres (1753-1824)

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THE LEADERS OF THE BANQUE DE FRANCE UNDER THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

February 18, 2002, the Banque de France sees its banknotes deprived of legal tender on the day of the 202nd anniversary of the start of its activities: pure chance or coincidence of history... Who remembers these financiers who carried at the beginning of the year 1800 , the young bank of issue on the baptismal font?
From 1800 to 1815, forty-seven bankers, merchants, receivers-general or senior civil servants sat on the governing bodies of the Banque de France. Long studied as elementary particles, the managers of the Bank form a homogeneous group with complex links, appointed so that, in accordance with the wish of the founders, *"the private interest and the public interest contribute in a prompt and powerful manner to the success of establishment."*



The Banque de France at the beginning of the 19th century



Letterhead with the header of François Jaubert, Governor of the Banque de France from 1807 to 1814

MANAGEMENT OF THE BANK AND ITS OPERATION

The writing of the original statutes of the Banque de France is the Spanish inn of the financial history of the 19th century: each historian gives a version of the facts according to his region of origin, his political opinions, Masonic... Some quote Perregaux or Périer as being the sole authors of what is undoubtedly a collective work, but forget that the only proven "editor" to date is the clerk of the study of Me Demautort, notary who drafted the act of creation of the Bank of France.

General Council

"The Banque de France will be administered by fifteen Regents and supervised by three Censors, chosen among all the shareholders by the General Meeting; the Regents and the Censors together will form the General Council of the Bank." (**Law of 24 Germinal Year XI**)

The Banque de France is not a company but a profit-making association of indefinite duration. This legal specificity deprives the Bank of a legal personality. The General Council therefore forms a moral body, solely responsible for the Bank's commitments. This legal non-existence survives in the various laws governing the Bank: throughout the 19th century legal proceedings were not initiated in the name of the Banque de France but in the name of the Regents.
The General Council of the Bank is made up of the Governor, Deputy Governors, Regents and Censors. They are required, before taking office, to prove ownership of at least thirty shares; they must be residents of Paris. The statutes provide for a term of office of 5 years for the Regents and 3 years for the Censors. No resolution can be deliberated in the General Council without the support of at least ten voters and the presence of a Censor. Decisions are taken by absolute majority.

Composition of the General Council from 1800 to 1814

"Meeting of fifteen heads of trading houses who take care of the Bank only for their own business." (**Nicolas Francois Mollien** , 1803)

1st Deputy Governor	Governor	2nd Deputy Governor
Thibon Louis Charles *04/28/1806*	Cretet Emmanuel *04/25/1806* Jaubert Francois *08/09/1807* Jacques Laffitte *04/06/1814*	Rodier Jean Baptiste *05/04/1806*

1st Seat of Regent	2nd seat of Regent	III seat of Regent
Perregaux Jean-Frederic *02/13/1800* Jacques Laffitte *01/19/1809*	Lecouteux-Canteleu Jean-Barthelemy *02/13/1800* James Jean Baptiste *10/17/1804* Goupy Guillaume-Louis-Isidore *01/27/1814*	Mallet (the eldest) Guillaume *02/13/1800*

IV th seat of Regent	V th seat of Regent	VI th seat of Regent
Mautort Georges-Victor de *02/13/1800* Bastide Louis-Barthelemy *10/17/1800* Guitton Barthelemy *10/17/1806*	Perier (father) Claude *02/13/1800* Desprez Medard *10/17/1801* Lily of the valley of Varange Pierre *10/17/1806*	Perrée Pierre-Nicolas *02/13/1800* Dean Charles Martin *10/17/1800* Gibert (father) Guillaume-Toussaint *10/17/1806* Ducos Basil *10/17/1811*

VII th seat of Regent	VIII th seat of Regent	IX th seat of Regent
Robillard Jacques-Florent *02/13/1800* Tailpiece Louis *10/18/1803*	Hugues-Lagarde Joseph Hughes *02/13/1800* Thibon Louis Charles *10/17/1801* Pierlot Louis *10/17/1806* Buffaut Alphonse Jean *10/17/1811*	Recamier Jacques *02/13/1800* Vital Roux *10/17/1806*

X th seat of Regent	XI th seat of Regent	XII th seat of Regent
Germain Jean-Pierre *02/13/1800* Hottinguer (father) Jean-Conrad *10/18/1803*	Carie (Bezard) Henri-Liévain *02/13/1800* Marmet (elder) Jean-Louis *10/18/1803* Flory (father) Henry	Basterreche Leon *02/13/1800* Delessert-Benjamin *10/12/1802*

10/16/1805

XIII th seat of Regent	XIV th seat of Regent	XV th seat of Regent
Sevene Auguste *02/13/1800* Olivier Augustin-Charles *10/17/1806*	Barrillon Alexandre *02/13/1800* Dibon Jean Baptiste *10/18/1803* Moreau Thomas *10/17/1804*	Ricard Georges Antoine *02/13/1800* Davillier Jean-Charles *10/17/1801*

I st seat of Censor	2 nd seat of Censor	III rd seat of Censor
William Sabatier *02/16/1800* Martin-Puech Jean-Henry *10/17/1803*	Journu-Auber Bernard *02/13/1800* Robillard Jacques Florent *10/17/1806*	Soëhnée (father) Jean-Michel *02/13/1800* Martin (son of André) Claude-Etienne *10/17/1806*

Legend :

Languedocien *(by origin or by marriage)*
Shareholder of Compagnie des Indes
Shareholder of the Société des mines d'Anzin
Shareholder of the Current Accounts Fund
Member of the Ten Traders Reunited
Partner of Ouvrard

Bonaparte tries to limit the influence of bankers within the General Council by setting quotas. In 1803, seven Regents out of the fifteen and the three Censors were chosen from among the manufacturers, manufacturers and merchant shareholders of the Bank. In 1806, three receivers-general entered the General Council. On paper, therefore, bankers occupy only seven seats out of the fifteen, but the complexity of their business allows many bankers to be elected as merchants.

The General Council is "the heart" of the Banque de France. If day-to-day management is delegated to the Central Committee and then to the Governor, it is the Regents who are masters of "monetary policy" by determining the discount rate, the sums to be used and the maturities. The creation and issue of tickets is taken jointly with the Censors who have a right of veto in this matter. The Central Committee and then the Governor must report to the Board on all Bank affairs at least once a week. The fifteen Regents and the three Censors are divided into five committees to prepare and implement the decisions of the General Council, namely: the discount committee, the bills committee, the books and portfolios committee, the cash desks committee, the committee for relations with the public treasury and with the receivers general.

Next to the Regents sit three Censors responsible for "monitoring" the Bank. They necessarily attend all the deliberations of the General Council without being able to take part in the vote. Only exception: the creation or issuance of tickets must be formally approved by the Censors. For other subjects, they have an advisory vote; if the Regents do not adopt their proposals, the Censors may request their transcription in the register of the deliberations of the General Council. This dichotomy between the powers of the Regents and the Censors seems modeled on article 42 of the Constitution of the year VIII: *"In the other acts of the government, the second and the third consul have consultative voice: they sign the register of these acts to ascertain their presence; and if they wish, they record their opinions there; after which the decision of the First Consul is sufficient."*
The Censors exercise supervision over all the operations of the Bank. For this, they cause to be presented the state of the cash boxes, the registers and the wallets, whenever they deem it necessary. They attend the Notes and Books and Wallets Committees and appoint the members of the Discount Council from a list of candidates presented by the General Council in number three times that of the members to be elected. Each year, the Censors report on their mission to the General Meeting and must certify that the rules established for the discount have been faithfully observed.

The Central Committee

The Central Committee, established by the original statutes in 1800, was confirmed by the law of 24 Germinal Year XI. It is composed of three Regents appointed by the General Council, 2 members and a President; he presides by right the General Council and the General Meeting of Shareholders. In April 1800, Lecouteulx, first President of the Central Committee, bore the title of President of the Banque de France.

"Specially and privately responsible for managing all of the Bank's operations" , the Central Committee meets as often as necessary. Garat, General Manager of the Bank presents the business to be dealt with and executes the decisions adopted. All Committee deliberations are recorded in a register; unfortunately the first seems lost and we can only study the period from December 13, 1803 to April 30, 1806
· general. Many important decisions (discounts, cash advances, purchases of piastres, real estate transactions, etc.) are taken within this select committee without the Censors being able to fulfill their duty of supervision.

In six years, only 10 Regents reached the Central Committee: Barrillon (2 months), Davillier (2 months), Delessert (2 months), Doyen (48 months), Germain (16 months), Lecouteulx (33 months), Mallet (10 months), Perregaux (74 months), Récamier (2 months) and Thibon (34 months). The Regent Bastide refuses his appointment in October 1802, he is replaced by Barilllon. The presidency was exercised by Lecouteulx from March 1800 to October 1801, then by Perregaux until May 1806. During the first two years, the Central Committee experienced a rapid renewal of its members (many only sat for two months). From October 1803, the Perregaux, Doyen and Thibon triumvirate presided over the destiny of the Bank without interruption. On May 13, 1806, the Central Committee ceased its functions.

In violation of the statutes, 3 alternates were appointed from October 1803 to May 1806: Lecouteulx was named vice-president, Davillier and Delessert were elected alternates.

The Government of the Bank

"I consent to the head of the bank being called ***governor*** *, if it pleases him, for titles cost nothing."* (**Napoleon Bonaparte** , March 27, 1806)

After the financial crisis of the Négociants Réunis, Napoleon decided to take over "his bank": *"I must be the master in everything I get involved in, and especially in what concerns the Bank, which is much more the Emperor's than to its shareholders, since it mints money."*
In March 1806, the Regents were summoned to consult with the Council of State on a plan to reform the Banque de France. The management of all affairs, delegated to the Central Committee, is now exercised by a Governor of the Banque de France and two substitutes called Deputy Governors.
The *"Banque de France bill"* was approved by the Council of State on April 5, 1806. On April 22, the law was passed by the Legislative Body. Emmanuel Crétet was appointed Governor on the 25th; follow the appointments of Deputy Governors Thibon on April 28 and Rodier on May 4. Last last stand of the Regents, the Central Committee met one last time on May 13 to *"transmit its powers to the first Governor of the Banque de France"* .

After six years of total independence, the Banque de France is governed by a hybrid statute with a management appointed by the political power against the Regents and Censors elected by the shareholders. The Governor is vested with very extensive powers: he chairs the General Council of the Bank and all the committees: no deliberation can be carried out unless it bears his signature; he thus has a right of veto. He appoints all the employees of the Bank; signs alone, in the name of the Bank, all treaties and agreements. He initiates legal proceedings in the name of the Regents. The Government of the Bank controls the admission of bills to discount, but it cannot deliver its own bills.

The Governor receives annually from the Bank a sum of 60,000 francs for fees; the two Deputy Governors each receive 30,000 francs; that is respectively one hundred times and fifty times the average salary of a worker. The fees of the 3 Governors represent half of the payroll; but that seems not to be enough because from 1808, the statutes oblige the Bank of France to provide *"for the expenses of office, lodging, furnishing and other accessories of the government of the Bank."*
The new mode of designation does not however interrupt the collusion between the Banque de France and the financiers. Indeed, the obligation imposed on the Governor to hold one hundred shares of the Bank and on each of the Deputy Governors fifty shares (i.e. a respective guarantee of 100,000 francs and 50,000 francs), obliges the political power to recruit them from among the upper middle class of 'business. Thus Crétet is an important Bordeaux shipowner and former director of Cie Royale d'Assurances - Incendies; Thibon is a Parisian merchant and financier, Rodier is the partner of the banker Delessert; only Jaubert denotes because he is just the lawyer of the Bank of France.

Nota Bene: the title of Governor undoubtedly results from the vanity of a single man: Emmanuel Crétet. At the time, the titles were not very popular in this upper middle class bathed in the ideas of the Enlightenment which applauded the night of August 4, 1789. Thus, Jaubert only included his title of Governor in third position behind those of State Councilor and Commander of the Legion of Honor. In 1808, the term Governor had not yet become commonplace. As proof, the various letters from the Treasurer General of the Crown who adorn Jaubert with all possible titles (General Manager, Governor General, etc.) except for that of Governor of the Banque de France

The "Directors General"



In February 1800, the Bank had no staff. It therefore includes the employees of the Caisse des Comptes Courants. The main heads of the Fund are confirmed in their functions. Thus Garat was appointed Managing Director of the Banque de France, Devaisnes became the Controller General and Delafontaine Cashier General.
Vial, sub-cashier in charge of the redemption of the Notes, holds 231 shares of the Bank. Thus he sits every year for the 200 strongest shareholders of the Bank. Audibert the Secretary of the Council seems to arrive in the luggage of his brother-in-law the Regent Hugues-Lagarde. Dibarrart the archivist has no connection with the members of the General Council.

Continuation of the article

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THEIR ORIGINS

Some renewals are done in a "quasi-hereditary" way. A Perregaux succeeds his partner Laffitte. Sabatier did the same, leaving his seat to Martin-Puech. When Perrée was elected to the Tribunate, Dean took his place on the General Council. Doyen and Perrée are both associates of Charles Henri Tellier, son of an employee of the National Treasury. Perrée's son marries Tellier's daughter.
Other renewals are made by geographical affinities. Thus Récamier, bankrupt, gave up his seat to Vital-Roux, who, like him, was from the village of Belley. Soëhnée and his successor Martin-André are two Swiss Protestant merchants and are related to the Fesquet family of Montpellier.

Geographic origin



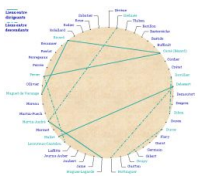
The study of the birthplaces of leaders shows a balanced distribution between Paris and the departments: 3 out of 4 were born in the provinces. Four of them were born abroad: Hottinguer and Perregaux (Switzerland), Pierlot (Belgium), Soëhnée (Germany). The preponderance of border or port regions underlines the social origin of the Regents and Censors: trading. We can note the absence of 2 economically important regions in the 18th century: the Pays de Loire and the Nord - Pas de Calais.

Obligation is made to the managers of the Bank to reside in Paris, they settle permanently in the capital. Thus 80% of them die in Ile de France. In particular, Claude Périer, who died of cold during the winter of 1801 because he found that firewood was too expensive. The civil status still knows some dysfunctions: twelve dates of birth are approximate, four Regents die in unknown circumstances. For example, Jame mysteriously disappears on Christmas Eve 1813 and will never be found.

The "Montpellierans"

In the 18th century, the Languedocians reign over the finances of France. This rise in power is based on certain specificities of this region: Languedoc has total financial independence vis-à-vis the royal power. The Treasurer of the Stock Exchange, who manages the finances of the region, negotiates every year the *"free gift"* , the voluntary participation of Languedoc in the royal finances. This independence requires the establishment of a decentralized financial administration within which many links are woven. The strong establishment of Protestantism in the region favors alliances with their Swiss and Dutch counterparts. This internationalization of Languedoc trade was amplified by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. To preserve the family heritage, one branch converted to Catholicism and remained in France, while the other members of the family took refuge throughout the Europe (Amsterdam, Cadiz, Frankfurt, Genoa, Geneva, London or Mainz).
Paris is no exception to the rule and the "Parisian" Languedocians weave a dense network of relations which revolves around the second consul Cambacérès and the Minister of the Interior Chaptal . Ten Regents can be described as Languedocians. Bastide, Davillier, Martin-Puech, Sabatier and Sévène are from this region while Basterrèche, Carié-Bézard, Martin-André and Soëhnée join the Montpellier trade by marriage. It should be added Germain, originally from Avignon, who by the location of his activities is described as Languedoc by most historians.

Family ties



Within the General Council, endogamy seems underdeveloped. But the existing ties reflect the mores of a business bourgeoisie always ready to marry between "people of good company". Carié, a major shareholder of the Compagnie des Indes, marries the sister of a director of the said company; Carié's sister married Augustin Périer, director of the company in Lorient. Audibert, Hugues-Lagarde and Martin-André are linked by alliances concluded in the Marseille trade. Ricard is related by his wife to Muguet-Varange Lyonnais like him and to Carié. Mallet first married Delessert's aunt; the two Geneva families remain very close after the death of Mrs. Mallet.

Sacrificing to the customs of their "caste", the Regents forged fruitful alliances: the son Goupy married the daughter of Ducos, the son Hottinguer married the niece of Delessert, the son Dibon married the daughter-in-law of Davillier, the son Soëhnée married the niece of Martin-André, son Perrée married granddaughter Vial, one of the Perier sons married cousin de Lecouteulx.
Another quasi-family bond, Cordier designates Vital-Roux as guardian of his children.

Parisian domiciles



The Parisian habitats of the leaders are concentrated on the right bank; they prefer the new fashionable neighborhoods (Chaussée d'Antin, Faubourg Poissonnière) to the detriment of old fashionable neighborhoods such as the Faubourg Saint-Germain or the Marais.
From 1811, the government of the Bank lived in the Hôtel de Toulouse, the same was true for the Director-General and the Cashier-General. Barrillon, Sabatier, Demautort, Desprez, Hottinguer, Martin-Puech, Muguet-Varange, Soëhnée, Vital-Roux, Delessert and Périer live in the surrounding areas between the Palais-Royal, Place Vendôme and the Boulevards. These neighborhoods come alive after dark, because here are concentrated fashion boutiques, theaters, restaurants but also brothels, gambling houses and other clandestine gambling dens.
Jame and Journu-Auber live on the left bank; this district of Paris experienced a proletarianization of its inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century, which only spared the area between the Seine and the boulevard Saint-Germain. Guitton, Marmet, Moreau and Perrée live in the Marais gradually deserted by the old Parisian bourgeoisie.
The other leaders live in the neighborhoods of Chaussée d'Antin or Faubourg Poissonnière. Since 1791, the construction of mansions has never stopped. This sustained real estate activity continued under the First Empire. The Chaussée d'Antin and the rue du Mont-Blanc (now rue Laffitte) gradually became the privileged place of residence of the great Parisian bourgeois.

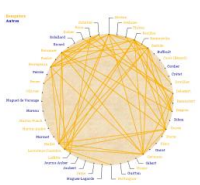
Freemasonry

Only a few Regents appear on the lists of Parisian lodges of the Grand Orient kept at the National Library. Demautort officiates in the Lodge of *Friendship* since 1780; Hugues-Lagarde frequented the Lodge *Saint-Jean d'Ecosse du Contrat Social* and Moreau was part of the Loge de *l'Harmonie* .
Many relatives of the Bank's managers are found on the boards of several Parisian lodges: the *Intimate Friends* , the *Friends Reunited* or the *Olympic Society* ... The study of these lists shows a lack of correlation between business ties and the composition lodges. The Masonic commitment is not based on mercantile concerns but rather on philosophical or political convictions.

BUSINESS LINKS WITHIN THE GENERAL COUNCIL

At the end of the 18th century, the boundary between banking and trading was not very marked. (investment banking as we know it now was born half a century later under the Second Empire). The banker is often a merchant who practices the silver trade alongside the trade in colonial commodities and the fitting out of ships.

The Bankers



Two-thirds of the Bank's managers carry out a banking activity. Some come from old families of bankers like Lecouteulx, Mallet or Sabatier ; others are former clerks who founded their own bank. The Protestant bourgeoisie, who emigrated after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, returned to France from 1787 after the Edict of Malesherbes which gave Protestants their civil rights.
Many regents know each other under the Ancien Régime: Rodier has been Delessert's partner since 1788, Hottinguer is a former clerk at the Lecouteulx bank, Laffitte, first clerk at Perregaux, becomes his partner in 1806. Other regents are linked by marriage. or by interest in major banks: Gibert and the bank of his son-in-law François Alexandre Seillière or Jame associate of the Vassal bank.

In August 1803, Barrillon experienced cash flow difficulties. He requested a loan of 2 million francs from the Bank, which he obtained by presenting the joint surety of Basterrèche, Bastide, Desprez and Récamier. The Basterrèche bank is closely linked to cognac producers to whom it advances large sums. Doyen supports

Rouen finance, in particular the *Veuve Thézard* bank ; he is also the Parisian correspondent of the *Banque de Rouen* . Mallet, associated with Périer, practices mortgage loans in Alsace and Franche-Comté. Martin-André opens a bank in Paris. Ollivier supports Le Havre shipowners and lends large sums to the *Etablissements du Creusot* . Pierlot holds a stake in Banque *Bruneau, Sébault & Cie* and especially in Banque *Doyen & Cie* , to which he is closely linked. Pierlot advances 600,000 francs to Desprez; he is also the banker of Lannes who deposits more than 700,000 francs with him. At the end of the Directory, Récamier and Barrillon founded a bank called *Syndicat du Commerce* , whose head office was Récamier's domicile. Heir to the oldest bank in Languedoc, Sabatier is also the main partner of the *Doyen & Cie* bank . With Desprez, Périer and Flory, he engages in financial operations on the consolidated 5%. *The Sévène frères* bank finances numerous contracts for military supplies. In difficulty after the crisis of 1805, she obtained a discount of 330,000 francs from the Bank.

The foreign activities of the Regents are mainly concentrated in the two poles of attraction of the time: Spain and Northern Europe (London - Holland - Baltic). Basterrèche, Lecouteulx, Sabatier, and Récamier have branches in Cadiz and Madrid and engage in numerous operations on piastres. Sabatier, Lecouteulx and Desprez speculate in the shares of *Banque Royale de Saint-Charles* , the Spanish bank of issue. Perregaux and Récamier support trade with England and provide important credits to London. Basterrèche opens branches in Switzerland and Hamburg.
The Goupy bank manages the fortunes and portfolios of many Italian princes and merchants. It has correspondents in several Italian cities: Lucca, Milan, Florence, Siena, Rome and Genoa. Goupy is also Elisa Bonaparte's banker. The Hottinguer bank participates in many land speculations in the United States via the *Holland Land Company* and *Cie Cérès* ; the latter company owns more than 150,000 acres in northern Pennsylvania. Récamier was very active in Réunion, where he supported several trading houses.

The State Bankers

Taking up the practices of the Old Regime and the Directory, the Consulate increased the number of fund service contracts with private bankers. Many Regents take part in State financing operations. In March 1800, Perregaux, Lecouteulx, Mallet, Barrillon, Germain, Sévène, Bastide, Fulchiron, Récamier and Doyen associated under the name of the *Ten Négociants Réunis* advanced more than 3,000,000 francs to the Armies of Italy and of the Rhine to cover the expenses of war. From October 1801 to September 1802, the *Association des Banquiers du Trésor Publi* c founded by Perregaux, Mallet, Fulchiron, Récamier and Doyen advanced more than 30,000,000 francs per month against the delivery of bonds from the receivers general guaranteed by the *Caisse amortization* . The contract sets the net margin of the financiers at 1.1875% per month, or an annual profit of 4,275,000 francs. The low harvest of the year 1801 led the consular regime to solicit the *Bankers of the Public Treasury* to supply Paris with grain at the rate of 45,000 quintals per month. The negotiated margin is comfortable since the government concedes 2% in addition to the advance rate previously planned.
In the spring of 1802, the claims of the *Bankers of the Public Treasury* for the renewal of the contract were not accepted by the government, which entrusted the service of funds to the *New Bankers of the Public Treasury* , namely Barrillon, Bastide, Desprez, Naurissart, Fulchiron and Récamier: Le contract is renewed under the same terms with a margin reduced to 1% per month, the financiers agreeing to return one-sixth of the profits to the State. In the following years, the contract passed into the hands of the *Agence des Receveurs-Généraux* and then of the *Cie des Négociants Réunis* . In September 1805, Perregaux, Récamier and Doyen ceded the Régie des Droits Réunis service to Desprez and the *Cie des Négociants Réunis* .

The Current Accounts Fund

In June 1796, two merchants, Monneron and Godard, created a discount bank called *Caisse des Comptes Courants* (the term bank had been banned in France since the experience of the *Banque Générale* de Law). The company moved to the Hôtel Massiac, place des Victoires in the former offices of the Compagnie des Indes , hence its nickname Caisse Massiac. Quickly some financiers join the two founders: Lecouteulx, Fulchiron, Hainguerlot, Jubié (the partner of Basterrèche). Endowed with a capital of five million pounds divided into one thousand shares, the Fund formed a kind of "discount club" whose activities developed little by little. After a few months, the directors decided to develop the shareholding because *"actions have been taken, bills of exchange have been discounted, deposits have been received, accounts have been opened, mandates on the Caisse des Comptes Courants circulate"* .



In October 1796, the first general meeting brought together 23 shareholders, including newcomers such as Récamier, Doyen, Davillier, Barrillon and Desprez. Two years later, the company has 96 shareholders who hold 860 shares. In November 1796, the company decided to issue a paper *"free and realizable at will"* ; it therefore had 8 million francs produced in denominations of 500 francs and 1,000 francs. The discounted bills are paid for in notes which circulate among Parisian merchants. The *Caisse des Comptes Courants* is developing but remains an exclusively Parisian bank. In October 1798, it recovered without any problem from the disappearance of its director Monneron having previously taken away the sum of 2.5 million francs.
In January 1800, it was therefore a solid establishment but with limited activity that competed with the Banque de France. The first fusion approaches are carried out by Germain and Barrillon. The *Caisse des Comptes Courants* enjoys its reputation and its seniority, but it does not have the financial resources of the Banque de France, which, having neither office nor equipment, cannot start its activities for several months. At the end of January, a new proposal is made; the shareholders of the Caisse meeting in a general meeting appoint five commissioners responsible for studying a merger: Cordier, Fulchiron, Geyler, Davillier and Récamier. The principle is acquired, it only remains to agree on the value of the shares of the *Caisse des Comptes Courants* . It was done on February 20, 1800, the Fund was absorbed by the Banque de France on the basis of 4,500 francs or 5 shares of the Bank.

Many Regents were shareholders of the *Caisse de Comptes Courants* , although most of them: Barrillon, Basterrèche, Carié-Bézard, Davillier, Desprez, Doyen, Germain, Hottinguer, Perregaux, Récamier and Sévène thus participated in the creation of the Banque de France by exchanging their shares. It is amusing to note that Cordier, Devaisnes (the Bank's first Comptroller General), Marmet and Ricard had little confidence in the new Banque de France and opted to buy back their shares in cash. The *Caisse de Comptes Courants* still exists today through its motto *"Wisdom determines fortune"* which has become that of the Banque de France.

The Trade Discount Fund



The *Caisse d'Escompte du Commerce* was founded in November 1797. As opposed to the *Caisse des Comptes Courants* , which brought together financiers, it practiced discounting for the benefit of its shareholders, traders or Parisian manufacturers, including Cordier, Flory, Moreau, Gibert, Pierlot , Sévène and Thibon. Germain, Marmet and Perregaux set up an alliance between the *Caisse des Comptes Courants* and the Caisse d'Escompte du Commerce to distribute loans secured on merchandise deposits. Its discount conditions are less restrictive than those applied by the Bank and the Parisian trade intervenes several times to protect "its bank" against the will of the power to bring together the discount banks at the Banque de France. On September 23, 1803, the Banque de France absorbed the *Caisse d'Escompte du Commerce* and obtained the monopoly of issue in Paris.

Piastre trafficking

In the 16th century, the discovery of large silver mines in Peru and Mexico enabled the Spaniards to mint large quantities of coins: a large silver coin worth eight reales called a piastre or dolera soon became the currency most used by the traders around the world and therefore the coin most often mentioned in stories of pirates or treasure hunts. The minting of Spanish piastres ceased in 1825, but they continued to be legal tender in the United States (1857) and Canada (1860). They were still circulating in fairly large quantities in the coastal cities of China, India and Persia during the 1930s.



The piastres are sent to Cádiz in the galleons of the *Carrera de Indias* , the Spanish administration which organizes maritime trade with the Americas. The trading houses of the 18th century got their piastres from the *Royal Bank of Saint-Charles* in Madrid, which held the export monopoly. The piastre becomes the currency of reference for international trade; its value is recognized and accepted in almost all countries of the world without any discount. Each bank or trading house sets up its own channel allowing it to recover this commercial sesame: thus the Sabatier bank bribes Spanish sailors to deliver to its Cadiz branch the few piastres they have managed to bring back from the New World.
From 1785, a syndicate of French and Spanish financiers was set up which practiced piastre trafficking on a large scale. Cabarrus, director of the *Royal Bank of Saint-Charles* joins forces with Lecouteulx (Rouen), Récamier (Paris), Basterrèche (Bayonne) and Sabatier (Montpellier) to export very large sums more or less legally. The piastres are loaded clandestinely bound for the French ports with the complicity of the consul general of France in Cadiz. A large part of the piastres is intended for the Compagnie des Indes which uses it directly for its purchases in the Far East, particularly in China where silver has a premium of 45% compared to gold.



The Compagnie des Indes also sends piastres to Vienna to be melted down into thalers: the silver coin with the effigy of Marie-Thérèse is the only coin accepted without difficulty in Yemen and Ethiopia (mocha-producing countries: coffee very popular). The thalers remained used as currency in this region until the 1950s.
The rest of the piastres were shared between the members of the syndicate who used them for their own needs: the annual share allocated to Sabatier oscillated between 2.8 and 3.8 million books; Lecouteulx borrows more than 20 million pounds a year from the *Caisse d'Escompte* to finance his purchases of piastres. The syndicate feeds a vast network of banks in Europe as far as Amsterdam or Hamburg. In his memoirs, the lawyer Berryer recounts that the traffic was denounced to the Revolutionary Court by

Héron, a bankrupt merchant from Marseilles. Sabatier , his associate Desprez, the cousins Lecouteulx and Magon de la Balue (director of the *Caisse d'Escompte*) are arrested. Sabatier and Desprez are saved thanks to Cambacérès (see also the chapter on the Compagnie des Indes), the Lecoulteulx buy clemency from Fouquier-Tinville; only Magon de la Balue ends up guillotined.

On April 21, 1800, Lecouteulx, first president of the Banque de France, wrote to M. Alquier, Ambassador of the French Republic in Spain, telling him of his desire to *"link the Banque de France with the great Spanish corporations, the Bank of St. Charles and the Five Gremios"* . Lecouteulx foresees useful results for France and Spain. Discussions are started with Hervas, the Spanish business manager in Paris and administrator of the *Royal Bank of Saint-Charles* but the project does not succeed.
Nota Bene: Lecouteulx's Hispanophilia is not limited to business, in 1810 he published an *Essay on Spanish Literature* .

Continuation of the article

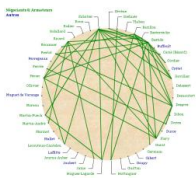
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THE LEADERS OF THE BANQUE DE FRANCE UNDER THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE (continued)

Traders & Shipowners



From 1802, most leaders aspired to the resumption of maritime trade with other continents, in particular between Europe and its colonies. They regard this recovery as the basis for the prosperity of their business. Thus each attempt at diplomatic negotiations with England is followed by a frenzy of investment in trade. Four out of five Regents have interests in shipping and trade in goods.

Barrillon and Récamier are partners in a trading house in Montpellier with Martin-Puech. The company *Johannot, Jaquet, Carié et Cie* had to abandon the international trade in fabrics and Indian fabrics under the effect of the Blockade to devote itself to commissioning goods. Hottinguer owns a *Bourlet* subsidiary , specializing in trading in Rouen and then in Nantes. From 1802, it carried out large operations on colonial foodstuffs and textiles. Cordier is in constant contact with Vital-Roux; he owns a silk business *Roux, Fournel & Cie* as well as a business of artificial flowers in the name of his wife. Mallet joins forces with Davillier in the trade of fabrics and Indians. Moreau, iron merchant, is a partner in*Moreau, Thomas & Desnoeux* . This company with a capital of 900,000 francs generates about 50% profit in 15 months. Guitton sells articles from Paris; Jame sells the wine produced at his two vineyards. Perregaux took advantage of a wine shortage in Paris in May 1802 to buy back a large share of the wine available in France and thus make a comfortable capital gain. Perrée has 2 stores in Granville. Sabatier sponsors *Périer frères, Flory* & Cie in Paris and *Henri Lhuilier & Cie* in Lyon; he also owns several trading houses with Davillier, Flory, Martin-Puech.

Shipowners



Most French ports are represented on the General Council. Ollivier, linked by his wife to the Le Havre Homberg family, participates in several river transport companies between Le Havre, Rouen and Paris. Perrée, a shipowner in Granville, married the daughter of the Saint-Malo shipowner Tirel de la Martinère. Delessert owns a shipping company *Delaroche et Cie* , based in Nantes. Barrillon, which sponsors *Chegarray frères* in La Rochelle and *Gramont* in Bordeaux, also owns 2 boats anchored in Bordeaux (the *Pondicherry* and the *Terrail*) in association with Buffault. The Bordeaux shipowner Journu-Auber is very involved in trafficking with the West Indies, particularly the slave trade. Basterrèche is associated with his shipowner brother in Bayonne.
The Mediterranean ports, Sète and Marseille, are represented by Hugues-Lagarde, Martin-André, Bastide and Sabatier. The latter holds numerous maritime interests with Martin-Puech, Périer, Flory, Basterrèche and Carié-Bézard. Bastide's balance sheet shows shares of merchant ships for more than 1,500,000 francs and 300,000 francs invested in privateer ships.
From 1802, Cordier equipped several boats for whaling. In 1805, the balance sheet was stopped: out of 18 armed boats, two sank and seven were captured by the English; the nine "survivors" owe their salvation only to their American flag of convenience. In 1808, Martin-Puech took part in the *Société pour les Armements Maritimes* (or *Cie Fonvielle*), a mutual guarantee company whose purpose was to promote maritime trade. But the company goes bankrupt after barely a year following the loss of its ships.

The Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean

Many Regents trade with Spain, especially in Cadiz, entry point for goods from the Spanish Empire. The *Compagnie des Laines* , founded by Barrillon, Hervas and Récamier, imported wool from Spain from 1800 to 1804. Power of attorney is given to Grandin, a textile industrialist from Abbeville, to run the company. Part of the wool is re-exported to Bristol. Doyen was also linked to the *Compagnie des Laines* through his participation in Grandin's business.

The textile industry consumes a large quantity of cotton, which comes mainly from Brazil and the Levant, today's Syria. The Brazilian cotton trade, which passes through Portugal or Spain, attracts many traders; thus Barrillon and Martin-André each hold an import license for around 1,500 bales of cotton per year. From 1808 to 1811, Hottinguer was appointed head of a *Cotton Cartel* , the profit of which was estimated at more than 2,000,000 francs. During the same period, Barrillon and many merchants complained about the actions of Marshal Bessières who blocked all bales of cotton from Cadiz in Spain that did not have *"the guarantee of a large house in Paris."* Hottinguer, privileged supplier of the army of Spain, probably diverts this one from its military activities to consolidate the commercial interests of the cartel.

In December 1804, the Council of State attributed the *Compagnie des Concessions d'Afrique* to several merchants from Languedoc. By a treaty signed by the Dey of Algiers, this company holds the export monopoly of wool, wax and leather. It can also export 2,000 setiers of wheat annually. With several counters (La Calle, Bonne, Le Colo, Cap-Nègre, Tabarque...), the company alone has the right to fish for coral along the Algerian coast. Among the partners of the *Compagnie des Concessions d'Afrique* , we find *Bérard & Cordier* which imports wool from Constantine and Sfax.

colonial trade

For most leaders, colonial trade (Antilles and Indian Ocean) dates back to the Old Regime. The Barrillon and Hugues-Lagarde families have operated sugar cane plantations in Santo Domingo for several generations. Journu-Auber sets up a trading house in Port au Prince where his wife owns several plantations. Sabatier brings back cocoa, coffee and molasses from the West Indies, which he processes in his factory in Sète.

Also the ink of the Peace of Amiens is not yet dry that many Regents take again the way of the colonies. Bastide joins forces with Desprez and Homberg to found a trading house in Reunion. He opened branches in Martinique and Senegal: his many ships enabled him to generate very significant traffic between Le Havre, where he set up the warehouses of his trading house and his colonial branches. It should also be noted that Bastide is in business with its cousins *Fargeon & Rigaud* , based in Santo Domingo. Demautort and his cousin Fabas establish a business in Reunion. Doyen via the company *Hardouin frères* and Martin-Puech set up in Mauritius. Périer invests in Santo Domingo and refines cane sugar in its factory in Marseille.

Under the Ancien Régime, the War of Independence opened the American ports to French trade. Thus Lecouteulx imports tobacco from Virginia on behalf of the Ferme Générale. Crétet, a merchant from Bordeaux, also made several trips to America. From 1802, Delessert specialized its maritime subsidiary *Delaroche & Cie* in Franco-American trade: it imported cotton from Virginia and Georgia, notably on behalf of Oberkampf. The resumption of the maritime war with England in 1804 cut France off from its colonies. Many traders heavily invested in the Antilles, use American ships (deemed neutral) to bring back the products of their plantations. During the period 1804-1815, trade with the West Indies reached only a tenth of the volume recorded during the Peace of Amiens.

Northern Europe and smuggling

After the Peace of Amiens (1802), sixty trading houses covering an area from Cadiz to Saint Petersburg founded the *Compagnie Maritime du Nord et de la Baltice* . With a capital of 8,400,000 francs, the company built a merchant fleet and offered pawnbrokers to shipowners. Many Regents have undoubtedly participated in this vast pan-European association. Davillier, Carié, Desprez and Sabatier join forces in the *Filliettaz-Meyer* trading house in Antwerp; Lecouteulx and Hottinguer sponsor the company *Devries* , specialized in textiles. Goupy imports cereals from Northern Europe.

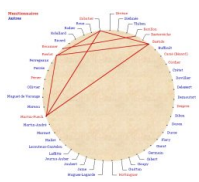
Heavily dependent on international trade, the Regents see their activity threatened by the Continental Blockade. So they seek to circumvent it after 1807 by practicing smuggling on a large scale. The Regents appear to be outside of known smuggling networks (apart from links with Hamburg's *Thorton Power & Cie* bank , and the presence of Martin Laffitte (the Regent's brother) in several smuggling deals in Bordeaux. The "group of the Compagnie des Indes " (in particular Lecouteulx) reactivates the business ties forged in Germany around 1785 during piastre trafficking. Martin-André, president of the Commercial Court, helps his son, bankrupt of 800,000 francs following operations smuggling. English goods were seized on several occasions in Soëhnée's warehouses; he participated with Davillier in the sales of the *Compagnie Anglaises des Indes* . At the end of the year 1809, Soëhnée had to reduce his activity and his capital under Blockade effect.

The India Company

(see also the chapter on the East India Company)

The business ties forged within the Compagnie des Indes continued throughout the Revolution and the Empire and numerous financial associations sprang from them: many of the Bank's managers were shareholders of the Compagnie des Indes : Germain (70 shares) , Moreau (120 shares), Sabatier (843 shares), Audibert (211 shares), Mallet (1,086 shares with his cousin from Geneva), Rodier (50 shares), Delessert (205 shares), Devaisnes, Perregaux, Lecoulteux (200 shares) , Périer, Cordier (250 shares with its partner Bérard), Carié-Bézard (100 shares), Davillier (352 shares), Martin-André, Journu-Auber (60 shares) and Soëhnée (97 shares).

Munitioners



From 1795, a whole generation of businessmen grew rich in a few years with military supplies. Faced with the lack of stewardship and logistical means, the Thermidorian Convention subcontracted the supply of the armies. This practice continued under the Directory, the Consulate and the Empire. The sharing of profits from this lucrative activity between the (political) principals, the munition holders and their bankers maintains a climate of incessant corruption. Thirteen Regents belonged to the munition community as suppliers or as financiers providing the necessary guarantees.

Supply contracts are executed under relatively opaque conditions. Companies are created by nominees and dissolved at the end of the contract, which rarely exceeds a few years. The only exception is *Military Beds* : the supply contract for Navy beds was signed under Louis XV under the name of *Desmazures* lease . Sabatier , who negotiated the contract with the Minister of the Navy, wrote to his father *"with what we gave to the Minister, we are safe for years"* . In November 1807, the contract was extended to the entire army under the name of Bail *Laurent* . At the Restoration, the company became the *Entreprise des Lits Militaires de la Garde Royale* . Profitable bribe, since the contract is renewed for more than a century. Bastide, Martin-Puech, Pierlot are associated with Sabatier . In 1808, the prefect of Hérault considered *Lits Militaires* to be Montpellier's second largest company in terms of the size of its business.

Barrillon holds many interests in military supplies: for example, the contract for the supply of wines and meat to the navy from 1796 to 1802, which brings in more than 80,000 francs per year to each of the partners. La *Compagnie des Laines,* which he owned jointly with Récamier, joined forces with Grandin (owner of the *Amelin factory, Van Robais & Cie* in Abbevillle) in the *General Company for the clothing of the troops of the Republic* . Barrillon brings together all the other interests in the *Limoges & Mazères* holding company : the *Cie Freydier* which supplies Paris and its surroundings with bread, the *Entreprise des Equipages d'Artillerie* which it operates via *Gramagnacq & Cie* and *Lauchère & fils* , to which are added three businesses linked to Ouvrard , the *Cie Chérubini* for the supply of food for the Navy, the *Cie Duboeuf* which guarantees the business of supplying food to the Spanish Fleet in Brest and the *Cie Noë* for the supply of fodder to the Armies of the Interior and England.
Récamier was often linked to Barrillon in military supplies, notably through the *Compagnie des Laines* . It sponsors many companies: *Cie Montessuy* for general supplies to naval hospices and invalids' hospitals (Paris, Louvain and Avignon), *Crucy frères* Nantes shipyards which build warships for the navy and *Cie Pasquier* for supplies to the navy of Brest. Récamier joins forces with Michel le Jeune in the *Cie Maréchal* , a general supply company for the navy.
Sévène supports many munitions suppliers: the Languedocien Louis Frainneau for general supplies to the Garde des Consuls and the 1st Military Division, *Cie Mannier* for general supplies to military hospitals and *Podosta & Cie* which supplies the military places of Corsica.

Other Regents appeared on a more ad hoc basis: Bastide joined forces with Vanlerberghe for the supply of wheat to the Spanish army, Carié the former naval general, Dean who took part in the clothing of the Army of Sambre and Meuse via the company *Romberg & fils* in Brussels, Hottinguer supplies the Army of Catalonia via the *Company Maubreuil* and takes the opportunity to bring back smuggled colonial foodstuffs from Spain. Under the Terror, Périer acquired civic conduct by founding the *Société des Sans-Culottes Républicains* , an arms factory in Grenoble.

The General Council of the Bank refuses to finance the military operations. In April 1800, the general administrators of the *Stages of Military Convoys* were excluded from the discount; the same refusal in June 1806, when the Ministry of the Navy asked the Bank for a credit opened on Russian banks of 1,000,000 francs per month to buy ammunition at the arsenals of Riga and Saint Petersburg.

The Ouvrard network

(see also the chapter on Ouvrard)

By the importance of his business, Gabriel Julien Ouvrard is linked to many Regents. Thus he often employs the services of Flory, a broker who serves as his nominee. Munitioners such as Barrillon, Bastide, Carié-Bézard, Desprez, Pierlot or Sévène are naturally very close to him.

Industrial Investments



The geographical location of industrial investments shows a strong concentration in Ile de France and in the bordering regions (Normandy, Centre, Picardy, Champagne and Burgundy). The Regents generally build up a typical heritage around their Parisian hotel: castle in Ile de France and farms in the major agricultural regions around (Beauce, Brie, Oise, Normandy, Sologne, etc.).
Most provincials retain ties to their region of origin through inheritance or local investments: Carié in Brittany through the inheritance of his brother-in-law, Dibon in Eure, Jame in Burgundy, Journu -Auber in Gironde, Perregaux and Martin-André in Switzerland, Pierlot in Luxembourg. There is also a high concentration of Languedocians and Marseilles around the Camargue. The receivers-general contribute to the scattering of land investments; most acquire property in their department of function: Buffault in Meuse, Gibert in Oise, Muguet-Varange in Scheldt or Pierlot in Aube. These investments also have a political motivation since it is necessary to be a landowner to be included on the lists of notabilities.
The high proportion of assets located in Belgium is due to the clearance of certain outstanding payments from the Directory by the handing over of Belgian national assets, the Consulate does the same with national assets located in the Rhine departments. Many regents reinvested in the "sugar islands" at the end of hostilities with England, others in the Iberian Peninsula (investments linked to the cotton and wool trade).

Legend :

- Woods, forests
- Coal
- Chemistry, soap making, glassware
- Cotton
- Farms
- Foundries
- Oldest boy
- Salt
- steel industry
- Sugar
- Tobacco
- Textile
- Public works
- Vineyards

Land investments

The sale of national assets from 1791 enabled the redistribution of more than a quarter of the area of France. In 1815, the number of landowners doubled compared to 1789. The preponderance of land in the heritage of the time is clearly visible among the managers of the Bank: 33 of them own farms spread over 39 departments.

Forestry investment is less widespread because it is often linked to an industrial activity consuming wood in the surroundings. A few Regents hold forest estates in Burgundy (Ollivier, Périer, Thibon), in the Center (Germain), in Normandy (Buffault, Hottinguer) and in Picardy (Desprez, Flory). Jame is the sole owner of wine estates in Burgundy and Beaujolais.



The salt industry is represented by Carié who inherited salt marshes in Morbihan and by the Languedoc Regents, associated since the 16th century in the *Salins de Peccais* , near Aigues-Mortes.
"The saltworks of Peccais, near Aigues-Mortes, were for a long time with those of Hyères and Ibiza the major providers of the Mediterranean basin. Peccais counted up to sixteen vast saltworks grouped together in the Salin du Midi. An industrial logic concentration has now dethroned them in favor of those of Giraud, near Port-Louis on the other side of the Camargue.

Textile industry

The textile industry was the most developed sector at the beginning of the 19th century. Davillier is at the head of a "small textile empire" with six factories in Gisors, Dourdan, Wesserling, Passy, Beauvais and Lodève. Dean sponsors the *Fontenilliat* factory in Le Vast (Manche): the factory, which employs more than 3,000 workers, is estimated at 1,500,000 francs. The Sévène brothers bought the velvet factory near Rouen as well as a cloth factory in the area. In November 1802, Bonaparte visited the velvet factory: Isabey immortalized the scene in a painting which is on display at the Versailles museum. Périer has several textile factories in Eure-et-Loir, Isère and Loiret. He decides to do a "social work" by hiring orphans to train them. Not a commendable thought in practice: children under 10 work 15 hours a day for an hourly wage of 1 cent.
Other regents hold more modest shares in the textile industry. Soëhnée operates the Munster factory which supplies printed fabrics to its two stores in Colmar and Paris. Delessert sets up a textile factory next to its sugar refinery in Passy. Dibon owns part of the family factory in Louviers (Eure). Desprez and Pierlot support the textile industry in Aube. We can add the breeding of merino sheep in Tustal (Gironde) in the Journu-Auber area.

Metallurgy, steel industry

The metallurgical and steel industry requires large investments which can only be supported by large joint-stock companies. If Moreau tries the adventure alone by exploiting an iron mine and a blast furnace in his domain of Neuvy (Nièvre), others take stakes in industrial companies: the *Houillères & Fonderies de l'Aveyron* (Goupy) , the *Romilly Foundries* (Lecouteulx), the Anzin Mines Company (Lecouteulx, Périer, Sabatier), the *Noyant Mines* (Périer) and the *Vaucluse Foundries* (Martin-André, Sabatier , Vital-Roux)

Romilly Foundries: founded in 1785, the *Cie des Fonderies de Romilly sur Andelle* 's main client is the navy, which it supplies with copper coins of all kinds. In 1795, it increased its manufacturing workshops *"to build boilers for breweries, distilleries or refineries."* It also manufactures the printing plates for the Indians. Lecouteulx is the main shareholder of *Fonderies de Romilly* . In November 1802, Bonaparte visited the installations during a trip to Normandy. The company experienced cash flow difficulties in January 1806 and obtained an extraordinary discount of 300,000 francs from the Banque de France. The *Cie des Fonderies de Romilly* is on the list of the Bank's 200 strongest shareholders.

Foundries of Vaucluse: the company manufactures in its factories in Avignon and Védenne *"all kinds of works (including guns) in copper, lead, and rolled sheet metal, wrought and cast iron, tinplate and other common metals"* . In 1807, the banker Léon Berr Fould acquired the tools and factories. To operate the foundries, he founded a company with a capital of 2,400,000 francs divided into 1,200 shares in which he legally held half of the shares. Martin-André, Sabatier and Vital-Roux join the project.

Société des Mines d'Anzin: (see also the chapter on the Société des mines d'Anzin)

Chemical industry

Following the research of Lavoisier or Chaptal, a new industry emerged at the end of the 18th century: chemistry. Paris sees many factories set up on the outskirts. Buffault sets up a vitriol factory on the Quai de Javel; Delessert owns an animal black factory (charcoal obtained by the calcination of animal bones) in Montsouris. Both are major suppliers of chemicals to the textile industry. In 1807, Buffault and Périer participated with the Mollerat brothers in the creation of the *Coal, acid and tar company* to exploit a new wood distillation process.
Some activities seem more traditional, such as the glass factory in Tourlaville (Manche) belonging to Germain or the soap factories in Marseilles owned by Régent Hugues-Lagarde. Thibon owns a share of the Parisian tannery *DEspagne & Cie* belonging to his brothers-in-law

Agrifood

Sabatier and Périer, linked to trade with the West Indies, produce cane sugar in Sète and Marseille respectively, while Delessert produces beet sugar in its factories in Passy and La Villette. *Robillard has operated the Manufacture des Tabacs de Paris* since March 1795 . Installed since the Ancien Régime place du Carroussel, the company moved to 1808 boulevard Montmartre. For a capital investment of 1,400,000 francs, the factory distributes to Robillard and his associates more than 1,500,000 francs in profit each year, that is to say a return of more than 100%. But the law of December 29, 1810 put an end to this idyllic activity by nationalizing the tobacco industry.

Major public works



The construction and operation of transport infrastructure (canals, bridges, roads) allows obtaining secure and stable profits. This father's activity based on the collection of tolls experienced a revival in the 19th century. In 1802, the consular regime launched a construction program for 1,890 km of canals; only 208 km are open to traffic in 1815.

Canal des Alpines: the Alpines (or Alpilles) are a small mountain range located between the Rhône and the Durance. At the heart of the massif is the village of Les Baux de Provence. The canal forms a derivation of the Durance from Mallemort, divides into several branches and then falls back into the Durance towards Orgon.
In 1772, Provence decided to build an irrigation canal in the Alpines. Called *Canal de Boisgelin* after the archbishop of Aix, promoter of the canal, it was renamed *Canal des Alpines* in 1791.
The Régent Buffault held 220 shares in the canal company.



Canal de Beaucaire: the canal, located in Gard and Hérault, begins in the Rhône at Beaucaire, crosses Saint-Gilles then Aigues-Mortes. At this point, it communicates with the Mediterranean via Grau-du-Roi and extends via the Canal de la Radelle to the pond of Mauguio and Séte, where it joins the Canal du Midi. Work started in 1773 ended in 1805.
The *Company for the Company of the canals of Aigues-Mortes in Beaucaire and Aigues-Morte in the pond of Mauguio* was created in 1801, it obtained a concession of eighty ten years from the end of the work, as well as ownership of the marshes between Beaucaire and Aigues-Mortes, subject to their cultivation.
With a capital of 2,500,000 francs divided into 500 shares, it was transformed into a public limited company in October 1808 and renamed *Compagnie du canal de Beaucaire* . This project was controlled from the start by the Languedoc financiers; several Regents are shareholders of the canal: Basterrèche (2 shares), Bastide (126 shares), Cordier (19 shares), Davillier (20 shares), Sabatier . From 1830, Davillier became president of the *Canal de Beaucaire* .



Three Bridges of the Seine: the company is charged by a consular decree of July 24, 1801 to build 3 bridges in Paris, namely the bridges of Arts, Jena and Austerlitz. The first general meeting meets in the premises of the bank *Lecouteulx & Cie* , rue Saint-Honoré.
In May 1803, the company experienced some cash flow difficulties; it proposes to the Banque de France to participate in a capital increase by handing over the many claims that the Bank has in its portfolio. Despite the presence of several Regents in the capital of *Trois Ponts de la Seine* : Lecouteulx, Germain (15 shares), Flory (48 shares), Perregaux (60 shares), Sabatier (7 shares), the proposal was refused by the General Council June 1, 1803.

In 1808, the *Company for the draining of the marshes of Bourgoin* (Isère) bought several thousand hectares of swamps from the family of La Tour d'Auvergne in order to develop the agricultural land to create the draining of the swamps. Flory participates in this company whose head office is curiously in Montpellier.

The "grants"

In March 1799, the granting of Paris was leased for three years to *Cie Laurenson & Nobelly* , a limited partnership of 3,500,000 francs held by Récamier and Roëttier de Montaleau. Ricard exploits in 1800 the granting of the city of Lyon.

Continuation of the article

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THE LEADERS OF THE BANQUE DE FRANCE UNDER THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE (end)

THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL POWER

Bonaparte is wary of financiers, no doubt he fears a counter-power over which he has little influence. Also the consular power gets involved very early in the designation of the Regents. The timeless and passionate relationship between politics and money is thus materialized within the General Council. The Regents and Censors are nevertheless keen to maintain their independence.
From 1806, it appeared that their commercial interests were irreconcilable with Napoleon's warmongering policy. From 1809, most of them significantly reduced their business and waited for the fall of the imperial regime. The *"batch of financial barons"* of 1810 is rather badly perceived. Hottinguer notes in his memoirs that the Regents consider themselves *"trapped"* by what can be interpreted as a reward for a possible allegiance to the regime. On April 6, 1814, two days after the abdication, the Banque de France went into rebellion; the General Council elects the Régent Laffitte Provisional Governor, thus ending the functions of Governor Jaubert.

The Receivers General of Finance

"Three Regents will be taken from among the general receivers of public contributions" (**Law of April 22, 1806**)



Following Gaudin's reform in 1799, the receiver-general was responsible for collecting direct taxes in his department. He pays taxes to the State in twelfths by issuing bonds payable to his home each month. Receivers-General's bonds quickly became a popular commercial paper: in some years, they accounted for 85% of the Bank's discount portfolio.
A position as Receiver-General was highly prized under the Empire: elected officials had to provide proof of a deposit equal to one-twentieth of the department's land tax; their salary is 6,000 francs per year plus a discount of 0.33% of tax revenue to which must be added fixed interest calculated on the amount of their security. The receivers-general are at the origin of the Banque de France since the Caisse d'Amortissement uses half of their guarantees to buy the first 5,000 shares of the Bank in 1800. From 1806, three of them must sit to the General Council. In nine years, six receivers-general sat on the General Council: Buffault (Meuse), Dibon (Aisne), Ducos (Deux-Nèthes), Gibert (Oise), Muguet-Varange (Escaut) and Pierlot (Aube).
The receivers-general form a financial elite scattered in all the departments: they become the natural correspondents of the Bank in the departments. The Public Treasury demands incessant advances from the Agency of Receivers-General; thus in December 1805, a Committee of Receivers General was created to replace Desprez, released from the service of the Public Treasury: the Minister Barbé-Marbois met with the sieurs Buffault, Gibert, Pierlot, Harlé, to whom Gossuin was added to form the Committee of Receivers General, which takes over the service of funds from the Public Treasury, i.e. interest of 0.875% per month (plus 0.5% for cash and 0.25% for money orders) on funds sent to Paris.

The United Rights Board

In 1791, the abolition of indirect taxes is considered a great fiscal advance. The deterioration of the accounts of the Nation under the Directory, led the State to restore a certain number of indirect taxes: stamp duty in 1798, duty on playing cards (25 centimes per set), tax on public cars, on gold and silver materials and a duty on the manufacture of tobacco. In February 1805, these taxes were grouped together within the Régie des Droits Réunis. The law also reinstated a 10% tax on retail beverage sales (tax raised to 16.5% in 1813). In 1806 the tax on salt was reborn; the tax of 20 francs collected per quintal is then increased to 40 francs.
The yield from indirect taxes increased very rapidly: 76 million francs in 1807, 83 million francs in 1808 and 220 million francs in 1803, i.e. as much as the land tax. Bonaparte appoints a trusted man, Jame, the former treasurer of the expedition to Egypt, receiver of United Rights. In 1811, the Banque de France granted an extraordinary discount of 15 million francs to the Régie des Droits Réunis, an amount increased to 20 million francs in 1812. Within a few years, the Administration des Droits Réunis became as unpopular as the General Farm. under the Old Regime. In 1814, it was with cries of *"No more conscription, no more united rights"* that the people of Bordeaux welcomed the Comte d'Artois back from exile.

The "defectors" of the National Treasury

The National Treasury, responsible for managing the revenues and funds of the State and the Public Treasury, was created in 1791 from the rubble of the Royal Treasury; many clerks from the Old Regime joined the new administration. Placed under the direct authority of the Assemblies, the National Treasury maintains stormy relations with the executive, in particular under the Terror.
Garat, General Manager of the Bank, began his career as the first clerk of the General Treasury of the Royal Treasury in 1788. He became General Cashier of the National Treasury in July 1791. But resigned in August 1792 following an examination of his accounts carried out by the finance committee of the National Assembly. Imprisoned for 10 months during the Terror (September 1793 to August 1794), he became general manager of the Caisse des Comptes Courants in 1798 and joined the Banque de France in 1800. Garat is described as the *"kingpin"* of the Bank and *" founder of the admirable order which reigns in the scriptures"* by Jaubert in a report of 1810.
Dean, followed a career parallel to that of Garat, cashier of the Royal Treasury in 1789, he became general cashier of the National Treasury from 1791 to 1793 Director of the Caisse des Comptes Courants, Dean became Regent of the Bank and sat on the Central Committee. Devaisnes, son of the first Treasury clerk under Turgot, became Commissioner of the National Treasury from 1791 to 1794. Administrator of the Caisse des Comptes Courants, he was the first Comptroller General of the Banque de France. Vial, former cashier of the receipts of the National Treasury, becomes in 1800 Cashier of the Reimbursement of the Notes.

Political activity of the Regents & Censors



The political activity of the Regents is relatively limited and often it results from the commitment of a few. On 18 Brumaire, only 6 Regents exercised a legislative mandate: Crétet, Journu-Auber, Lecouteulx, Martin-André, Perrée and Ricard. From 1789, Journu-Auber, Lecouteulx and Perrée gradually abandoned the management of their affairs to devote themselves to politics; for the other Regents, political activity is more occasional. Under the Consulate and the Empire, the Regency Council had 3 senators (Journu-Auber, Lecouteulx and Perregaux), 3 deputies to the legislative body (Dean, Périer and Ricard) and 2 tribunes (Jaubert and Perrée). When the Tribunate was abolished, Perrée was appointed counselor-master at the Court of Auditors.
The two Governors (Crétet and Jaubert) are State Councillors. Unlike the Regents, they are two men appointed according to their political career. Crétet left his post as Governor to become Minister of the Interior and Jaubert, former President of the Tribunate, was appointed to the Court of Cassation in 1814.

By their social position, the Regents are all registered on the lists of notables and can therefore claim local functions. Their obligation to reside in Paris naturally destined them to exercise mandates within the General Council of the Seine. Thus are elected councilors of Paris: Mallet, Demautort, Sabatier , Doyen, Thibon, Delessert, Ollivier, Moreau. Sabatier and Demautort are reputed presidents of the General Council of the Seine. There are also four district mayors: Doyen, Moreau, Guitton, Delessert and 2 mayors of Ile de France municipalities: Robillard (Magnanville) and Muguet-Varange (Limeil-Brévannes). The only exception, Ducos, who owns a property in the Oise, is elected general councilor of this department.

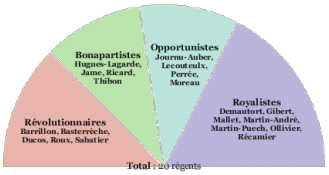
Nine Regents sit in consular jurisdictions. Martin-André, Flory, Cordier, Davillier, Delessert, Goupy, Hottinguer, Laffitte, Thibon are elected to the Commercial Court of Paris which is chaired successively by Martin-André and Flory. Davillier, Hottinguer and Martin-André are appointed to the General Council of Commerce on the proposal of the Chambers of Commerce.

General Council Policy Links

Some Regents have links with the Bonaparte family. The closest Jame, fellow student of Joseph at the college of Autun, treasurer of the expedition to Egypt, becomes the general intendant of Joseph, king of Naples, then king of Spain. Barrillon, back from Santo Domingo, becomes friends with Lucien and frequents the *"coterie of Lucien", in* particular the Duchess of Abrantès. Goupy, banker to the Italian princes, manages the property of Elisa, Princess of Lucca and Grand Duchess of Tuscany. In 1815, he defended the interests of the latter at the Congress of Vienna by intervening with the Allies. Joséphine de Beauharnais, muse of the Directory, maintains many links with the financiers: the munitions officers Desprez, her secretary of the commands and Pierlot, her general intendant enter the General Council.
The influence of the second consul Cambacérès appears more clearly: Sabatier his cousin, Basterrèche the husband of his niece Rose Duvidal de Monteferrier and Martin-André, husband of a cousin Christine Fesquet. Mathieu Molé describes Jaubert as *"a creature of Cambacérès"* ; the traces of a sustained correspondence between the Archchancellor and the Governor tend to prove a close relationship between the two men. Ducos, who invites Cambacérès to his son's wedding as a witness, is offered the only known portrait of him. A business lawyer, Cambacérès is the legal adviser to the Compagnie des Indes , the Société des mines d'Anzin and Ouvrard , and no doubt he is no stranger to the strong representation of these financial groups within the Council general ?
The influence of other political figures appears more sporadically. Lebrun, third consul, attends the wedding of Demautort's son. These two relatives of Chancellor Maupéou have been dating since the Ancien Régime. Talleyrand and Hottinguer know each other from the United States, where they engaged in land speculation.

Their political views

Many Regents have no political conviction other than the annual profit of their trading house. We can nevertheless classify a minority of them politically:



The revolutionaries

Barrillon, planter in Saint-Domingue, was a notorious slaveholder: he fought with arms in hand to defend his property during the slave revolt in August 1791. Back in France, he took part in the defense of Lyon against the armies of the Convention, joined the Directory and then the Consulate. Liberal, he approaches Lucien Bonaparte and openly disapproves of the proclamation of the Empire.
Basterrèche is imprisoned for a year for having denounced during the Terror the abuses committed by an envoy on a mission to Bayonne. Freed by the Thermidorians, he became one of the economic advisers of the Directory. Having become a nephew by marriage of Cambacérès, he died without knowing the Empire; no doubt he would have had a critical attitude towards the restoration of the monarchy. Through his brother, Basterrèche is very politically linked to General Moreau.
Initially Jacobin, Ducos is close to the Thermidorians. Thanks to Cambacérès, he became a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ducos seems to miss Thermidor under Bonaparte and becomes nostalgic for the Empire under the Restoration.
A fervent revolutionary, Vital-Roux participated in the siege of Lyon, his hometown. There are many abuses there. In 1795, during the White Terror, he had to take refuge in Paris to escape reprisals. His links with Savary earned him frank hostility from the new Restoration regime.
A man of the Enlightenment, Sabatier enthusiastically welcomed the Revolution. The protection of his cousin Cambacérès enabled him to be one of the few surviving farmer-generals. He rallied to 18 Brumaire, but Bonaparte's inability to make a lasting peace with England probably detaches this convinced Anglophile from the regime. A free trader, he had negotiated a commercial treaty in 1785 between the British and French East India Companies ; this project was rejected by Vergennes, the minister of Louis XVI.

The Bonapartists

Hugues-Lagarde emigrated in 1793 after his father was guillotined. Returning to France under the Directory, he joined the Consulate in the wake of his brother-in-law Audibert.
Treasurer of the Egyptian expedition, Jame is very close to Bonaparte. Under the Consulate, he uses this relationship to remove certain people from the list of emigrants.
A member of the Cinq-Cents, Ricard supported 18 Brumaire. In compensation for his rallying, he was appointed deputy to the Legislative Body.
Thibon is an outspoken Bonapartist partisan. Like Monsieur Noirtier in the Count of Monte-Cristo, he lives in a veritable museum of the Empire. At the Restoration, *"expected from the personal obligations he owed to the Emperor"* he refused to take the oath to Louis XVIII and married his children to openly Bonapartist families. He was curiously confirmed in his functions as Deputy Governor by Louis XVIII and then by Charles X.

The opportunists

Journu-Auber was a monarchist at the start of the Revolution, kept himself hidden under the Terror and then rallied each time to the new regime in place (Consulate, Empire, Restoration). The only proven slave Regent, he is a supporter of the restoration of slavery.
Lecouteulx, a monarchist in 1789, became one of the instigators of 18 Brumaire through his links with Seyiès, of which he was the banker. He gradually abandoned business to devote himself to politics: he held a legislative office from 1789 to 1830. Lecouteulx, a supporter of a free trade agreement with England, seemed to break away from Bonaparte when the Peace of 'Amiens.
At the start of the Revolution, Perrée was the royalist mayor of Granville (appointed by Louis XVI in 1783). He became a supporter of the Terror and chaired the civic supervisory board of Granville. Elected member of the Council of Elders, he supported 18 Brumaire, which rewarded him by appointing him to the Tribunate. When this meeting is abolished, he is appointed master adviser to the Court of Auditors. In 1814, he presented his vows to Louis XVIII, then to Napoleon during the Hundred Days and again to Louis XVIII after Waterloo.
Like many fellow citizens, Moreau "returned his jacket" in 1814: this Bonapartist became a royalist during the Restoration.

The royalists

Friend and notary of Mirabeau, Demautort joined the Club des Feuillants. In 1791, he was administrator of the Seine department and opposed Pétion, the mayor of Paris. Demautort narrowly escapes the massacres of September. His royalist opinions cost him his duties as a notary, which he regained in 1795. Very close to Lebrun and Dubois, prefect of police in Paris, he was rewarded by the Consulate, a regime he hardly supported.
Cousin of Lavoisier, Gibert multiplies the testimonies of sympathy towards the royal family after 1789. He approaches the legitimist party at the Restoration.
Close to the Orleanists in 1789, Mallet was imprisoned several times during the Terror. Released after Thermidor, he abandoned all political activity and joined the Bourbons in 1814.
A committed counter-revolutionary, Martin-André chaired the management board of the Bouches-du-Rhône department. He must emigrate to Geneva after opposing the revolutionaries. But Geneva is also undergoing a revolution and Martin-André has to leave the city.
For his monarchist opinions, Martin-Puech received the Legion of Honor in December 1814.
A conservative Catholic, Ollivier refused any political post under the Empire. He was named peer of France by Charles X.
Frequently worried because of his royalist positions, Récamier got through the Terror without a hitch thanks to his political support. The Récamier couple were among the first opponents of the Consulate and publicly defended General Moreau against Bonaparte. In 1803, Bonaparte ordered the closure of Juliette Récamier's salon, considered a hotbed of opposition. Récamier is associated with the various coup projects of Moreau and Bernadotte. In 1811, Mme Récamier was exiled to the Abbaye au Bois because of her links with the royalist party.

The Banque de France on the stock market



The Banque de France share price, like the price of the rent, is considered by Napoleon as one of the indices of the regime's economic popularity. Issued at 1,000 francs in January 1800, Banque de France shares remained at around 1,250 francs during the Consulate and the Empire. Only the invasion of France in 1814 and the defeat of Waterloo in 1815 push the action to quote below its nominal. The Banque de France share acquires the status of value of the father of the family, many dowries are made up of a few shares of the Bank. During the winter of 1801, Barrillon submitted a plan to list the Bank on the London Stock Exchange by buying back the 10,000 shares held by the *Caisse d'Amortissement* . The deterioration of Anglo-French relations is right for the project.
Transactions in the Bank's shares are significant. In 1805, therefore, there was a strong concentration of the Bank's capital, but speculation subsided the following year. In the second half of 1808, the managers of the Bank held only 5,000 shares, or 6.70% of the capital.

One of the objectives assigned to the Bank's management is to maintain the dividend above the statutory threshold of 6%. From October 1806, the stagnation of business forced the Bank to seek *"safe and varied extraordinary operations"* in order to maintain the dividend. Cretet obtains authorization to buy back 1,500 shares while failing to declare the 7,500 shares already held by the Bank. July 1808, derogation is given to the Banque de France to keep the diamonds pledged for a loan from the Spanish government; the Bank receives a commission of 5%.
The sums allocated to the Governor to buy annuities and shares of the Bank increased significantly: 5,000,000 francs in 1808, 6,000,000 francs in 1809 and 20,000,000 francs in 1811. Through these successive purchases, the capital of the Bank finds amputated by a third. Following a few drains on reserves and other accounting tricks, the Bank posts a dividend each year above the psychological threshold of 6%.

CONCLUSION

The Banque de France, frequently referred to as the *"daughter of 18 Brumaire"* , is incorrectly described by historians as a simple cog in the Napoleonic administration. By responding in the affirmative to certain requests for a reduction in the discount rate or for an advance of funds to the Public Treasury, the Regents gave Napoleon Bonaparte the illusion that he was controlling the operation of "his bank". With the complicity of the Governors, the Regents conduct the affairs of the Bank according to their particular interests, and this often in contradiction with the views of the regime.
Contrary to popular belief, most of the Bank's managers knew each other before their appointment to the General Council. If some seem isolated, this often results from a lack of sources on their business. Their descendants sat on the General Council without interruption until the reform of the Banque de France initiated by the Front Populaire in *1936* . managed the affairs of the Bank for more than a century.

08/19/06 - Emmanuel Prunaux

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Cambaceres (1753-1824)

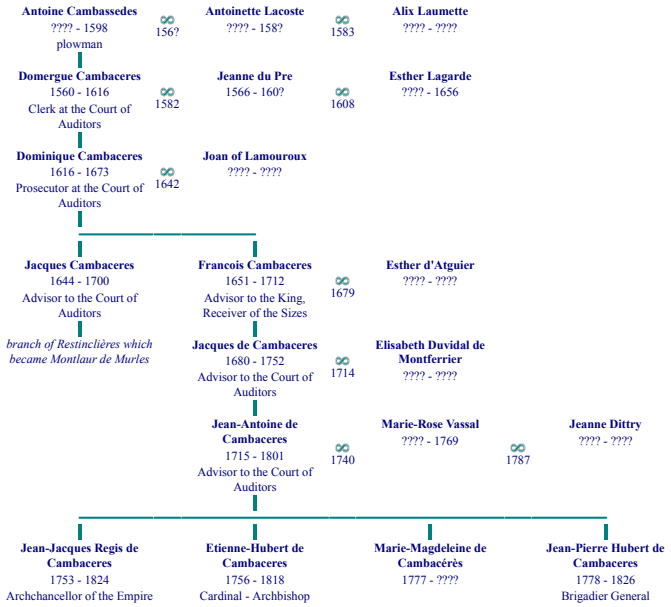
Biography
Political life
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FAMILY

"It is good to know who one is and where one comes from. This self-knowledge guarantees us from the chimeras of vanity and a lazy modesty that leads to abasement." (**Cambaceres**)

GENEALOGY & HISTORY OF THE CAMBACÉRÈS FAMILY

Of Cevennes origin, the Cambacérès family comes more precisely from the canton of Vigan. Etymologically the name Cambacérès (or Cambassédès) comes for some from 2 Languedoc words *camba* , leg and *assedat* , sitting: which can be translated by the nickname *sitting on legs* or *short on legs* . Others think that the name means *from the place Cambassédès* : a place located in the town of Avèze, near Vigan.



Cambassédès

In the middle of the 16th century, Antoine , a plowman in Vigan, left the Cévennes to settle in Montpellier. He buys a house in rue Sainte-Croix on the site of the current Hôtel Cambacérès. He becomes acquainted with his neighbor Domergue Lacoste who becomes the godfather of his son Domergue. This one inherits from his godfather a house rue Sainte-Croix and a sum of money which allows him to buy an office of bailiff at the Court of Auditors . Domergue Cambacérès becomes first bailiff then chief clerk of the Court of Auditors. His son Dominique, King's prosecutor in the Court of Auditors, was elected lieutenant of the noble archery game in 1656.



François Cambacérès buys a post of Councilor to the King and receiver of the sizes of the diocese of Le Puy. His son Jacques, noble by the dress of three generations of magistrates, registers his arms: gold with a chevron gules accompanied by three roses of the same *(see opposite)* . Jacques de Cambacérès, who became an advisor to the Court of Auditors by inheritance, married Élisabeth Duvidal de Montferrier, sister of the syndic general of the States of Languedoc.

Their son Jean-Antoine married in 1740 Marie-Rose de Vassal , daughter of a banker and adviser to the Court of Auditors. From this union are born eleven children of which only two survive: Jean-Jacques Régis and Etienne-Hubert . When his wife died, Jean-Antoine frequented Jeanne Dittry with whom he had two natural children:

- Marie-Magdeleine married Claude-Auguste Gilles, Receiver General of Finance for Seine-et-Oise (1802-1815).
- Jean-Pierre Hubert married Anne-Marie-Joséphine-Philippine Karsch in 1797. Three children are born:

 - Marie-Jean-Pierre Hubert (1798-1881) page of the Emperor in 1812, he follows the King of Rome to Blois. Officer of chasseurs à cheval then lawyer in 1823, he rallied to the July Monarchy then to the Second Empire: Senator, Grand Master of the Ceremonies of Napoleon III, he carried out several confidential missions. Made Duke of Cambacérès, he married Louise-Anne Alexandrine Thibon, daughter of the Deputy Governor of the Banque de France , without issue.
 - Joséphine (1800-????) married Baron Jean-Marie Delaire, adviser to the Court of Auditors.
 - Etienne-Armand Napoléon (1804-1878) deputy for Aisne from 1842, he fought against the July Monarchy then rallied to the coup d'etat of 2 December. His only son Louis-Joseph Napoléon, deputy for Aisne during the Second Empire, married Princess Bathilde Bonaparte (1840-1861), daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, in 1856. He has two daughters from a second marriage with Marie-Victorine Anatole de Montesquiou-Fezensac.

ELDER BRANCH OR YOUNGEST BRANCH?

The family tree represented above is that published in 1905 by Pierre Vialles. The biography of Vialles defends the generally accepted version according to which the Restinclières represent the elder branch of the family, the magistrates from whom Jean-Jacques Régis descends forming the younger branch.

However, two documents unknown at the time, one written by the grandfather of Jean-Jacques Régis and another written by Jean-Jacques Régis himself, affirm the opposite. According to the family history written by Jacques de Cambacérès, there would have been confusion between two brothers, both named François. Some dates quoted by Vialles seem inaccurate... Dominique Cambacérès died in 1673 according to Vialles would have died in 1656. The version of Vialles has one generation less than the version of Jean-Jacques Régis. How can Jacques de Cambacérès, supposedly dead in 1752, recount in his memoirs the childhood illnesses of his grandchildren born in 1753 and 1756?

The genealogy given by Pierre Vialles and taken up by many biographers is obviously inaccurate. Only a thorough examination of the archives of the civil status of Montpellier should make it possible to reconstruct the genealogy of the Cambacérès family.

THE ARGENTINIAN BRANCH OF THE CAMBACERES FAMILY

In 1824, Antoine de Cambacérès landed in Buenos Aires at the request of the Argentine government. He is a French chemist who studied at the faculty of Montpellier , where he certainly took lessons from Chaptal . He is charged by the President of the Republic Jean Larrea with the development of the neatsfoot oil industry (chemical ingredient used in the treatment of leather). Shortly after his arrival, he married Rufina Alais, with whom he had 4 children: Antonino (born in 1833), Ludovica, Eugenio (born in 1843) and Delphine. With the inheritance of his father-in-law, he buys land and becomes an important cattle breeder. In addition to his chemical activities, he made a fortune selling salted beef and hides.



His two sons, Antonino and Eugenio, become influential politicians: they sit in the Argentine Senate. Eugenio Cambaceres *(see photograph opposite)* is also the best-known Argentine writer. His work is in the naturalist movement of Émile Zola. One of Antonino's sons was vice-president of the Senate and represented Argentina at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1889. Rufino Luro Cambaceres was an aviation pioneer in Argentina in the 1920s. Co-pilot of Saint-Exupéry and Mermoz, he founded **Aeropostal Nacional** a few years later . Until today, the Cambaceres family continues to play an important role in Argentine politics. A district of Buenos Aires and a football club still bear the name of Cambaceres.

Rumor has it that Antoine de Cambacérès is an illegitimate son of Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès. In fact, he was the second son of his cousin, Field Marshal Joseph Charles de Cambacérès-Murles, and of his mistress Suzanne Pons whom he had married in September 1792. The Argentine family has some memories of Cambacérès (tableware, medal …). No doubt he gave his nephew valuables to enable him to finance his trip and his installation in Argentina?

CAMBACÉRÈS FAMILY ALLIANCES



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Cambaceres (1753-1824)

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HIS LAW FIRM

"On terminating my legislative functions, I resolved to remain a stranger to public affairs and to devote myself entirely to the work of my profession. The number of my clients increased rapidly. From all points of the Republic, business came to me. The attorneys of Paris, generally reluctant to employ the ministry of those who had not belonged to the old bar, established relations with me. Finally, the trial lawyers sought my advice, and took great pains to rely on me. a name that was beginning to be authoritative in case law.

These advantages were due to several causes. The reputation of jurisconsult who had preceded me at the Convention had been singularly increased, by reason of the part I had had in the three draft codes, and of the various reports I had made to the Convention and to the Council of Five hundred. Considered as the intermediate point between the decrepitude of our ancient laws, and the imperfection of modern legislation, it was thought with some reason that I knew the first, and that knew better than another to reconcile them with decrees often incomplete or badly written. I maintained quite well a reputation acquired without effort, which judgments rendered in accordance with my opinions completed to consolidate.

(...)

Finally, at my beginning in the profession of jurisconsult, I took care to announce that I intended neither to plead, nor to make memorials, nor to set myself up as a business solicitor, and that everything would be reduced on my part to give answers to the questions that would be submitted to me. This manner frightened no one, and inspired no jealousy. The young lawyers saw in me only one more consultant. The former lawyers cared little about an addition which could not be detrimental to them. They were, moreover, few in number, and business very multiplied. Several of them, notably Tronchet and Ferey contracted liaisons with me, and few days passed without conferences between us, where Poirier, de Bonnières, Bigot de Préameneu de Bloisin and other reputable jurists. Tronchet, whom I knew from a long time ago, whom I had seen again during the King's judgment, had abandoned business since the Constituent Assembly. He took them back to my investigation, and was afterwards satisfied to have deferred to my advice. The pleadings directed by our consultations were usually entrusted to Delamalle, Berryer, Bellart and Bonnet.

Cambaceres , *Memoirs*

CUSTOMER ANALYSIS

It is possible to partially reconstruct the clientele from its books of reason. We have nominative data for only a third of the firm's turnover, which represents a relatively representative sample.

The preponderance of maritime armament is due to the resumption of privateering under the Directory. French corsairs were authorized to board all ships crossing English waters and neutral countries had to claim the return of ships and cargo wrongly seized from the Prize Court in Paris. Cambacérès becomes the legal adviser of Keydel, representative of the Hanseatic League in France, and of the American shipowner Hayward. Her clientele also includes Bordeaux and Saint-Malo shipowners.

Even if they are obviously underestimated *(see below)* , the contracts obtained thanks to his cousin Sabatier represent an important part of the activity. Many Languedoc merchants also call on its legal services: Basterrèche, Cambon, Durand, Lajard, etc. Some work is invoiced to the " *Ouvrard group ", in particular the Girardot & Cie* bank and suppliers to the Michel armies. We can also mention the bankers *Hupais, Gelot & Cie* who were very active at the time of the Directory and Hervas, the Spanish charge d'affaires in Paris and director of the *Banque Royale de Saint-Charles* , the Spanish bank of issue.

If the clientele of Cambacérès mainly belongs to the business world, there are a few clients from other horizons. Cambacérès looks after the interests of several families from the Ancien Régime, such as the Orléans, the Choiseul-Praslins and the Arenbergs. He also defends the children of Malesherbes (the unfortunate defender of Louis XVI who was guillotined in 1794) and the interests of several provincial Jewish communities. Towards the end of the Directory, a few politicians like Roederer appeared among the clientele.

THE REVENUES OF HIS CABINET

"My existence was pleasant, and the products of my labor enabled me to support my family." (**Cambaceres** , *Memoirs*)

Month	**Year IV** *(09/1795 - 09/1796)*	**Year V** *(09/1796 - 09/1797)*	**Year VI** *(09/1797 - 09/1798)*	**Year VII** *(09/1798 - 09/1799)*
Vendemiaire	256 pounds	?	?	2.104 pounds
Brumaire	60 pounds	?	708 pounds	2,482 pounds
frimaire	210 pounds	?	714 pounds	2,211 pounds
Nivose	354 pounds	?	918 pounds	2,094 pounds
Pluviose	368 pounds	?	1,520 pounds	2,856 pounds
Ventose	690 pounds	?	1,636 pounds	2,436 pounds
Germinal	1,506 pounds	?	2,344 pounds	3,966 pounds
Floreal	1,224 pounds	?	2,850 pounds	1,938 pounds
Prairial	2,510 pounds	?	1,744 pounds	1,602 pounds
Messidor	1,693 pounds	?	2.112 pounds	2,020 pounds
Thermidor	2,322 pounds	?	2,920 pounds	198 pounds
Fructidor	3,025 pounds	?	3,505 pounds	0 pounds
Total	**14,218 pounds**	**?**	**20,971 pounds**	**23,907 pounds**

This table comes from the books of reason kept at the National Archives. The incomes indicated are high in comparison with the annual salary of a servant (500 pounds) or a worker (about 1,000 pounds). But many clues suggest that Cambacérès concealed part of his cabinet's income.

Thus, the drop in fees invoiced to the Compagnie des Indes (Year IV: 1,176 pounds, Year VI: 30 pounds, Year VII: 204 pounds) is contradicted by the many legal works carried out by Cambacérès which can be found in the archives of the company. In three years, Cambacérès notes 1,200 pounds of income from the Société des mines d'Anzin while the company pays him an annual fee of 2,400 pounds. We also note the virtual absence of Ouvrard : no trace of the long work carried out for the drafting of the various supply contracts for the armies (in particular the work on the Blanchard contract which is kept in Japan).

Finally, the analysis of the statements of situation makes it possible to evaluate the fortune of Cambacérès at more than 500,000 pounds in September 1799. This rapid enrichment cannot be explained with the only income recorded in the books of reason. No doubt Cambacérès speculated on the price of the consolidated 5% annuity at the time of 18 Brumaire?

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THE FINANCIAL

"The second consul, Cambacérès, inspired confidence in the skilful and industrious businessmen who had made their way in the Revolution." (**Etienne-Denis Pasquier** , *Memoirs of my time*)

The India Company



In 1784, Guillaume Sabatier and his partner Pierre Desprez set out on a trip to London. At the request of Calonne, Comptroller General of Finance, they negotiated with the English government for the creation of a new French India company. On June 3, 1785, an *East India and China Company was created*. With a capital of twenty million pounds, this company holds the privilege of trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope (monopoly confirmed by a decision of the Council on 09/21/1786). The company set up its Paris offices at the Hôtel Massiac, place des Victoires and took possession of the buildings, stores and workshops of the former company in Lorient and Marseille. It opens counters in French establishments (in Canton, in Pondicherry, on the coasts of Bengal, Coromandel and Malabar, in Moka, Mahé and on Mauritius) and also sends correspondents to the ports along the sea route to India (from Lisbon to Canton).

Louis XVI appoints twelve directors: Bernier, Gougenot, Sabatier , Dodun, Moracin, Demars, Gourlade, de Montessuy, Bérard, Bézard, Périer and JJ Bérard. They were required to each hold 500 shares of one thousand pounds, or 20% of the capital, increased to 30 million by the decree of September 1786. The company equipped about fifteen boats and prospered very quickly. The profits make it possible to distribute a dividend of 18% in 1788 and 16% in 1789.

On April 3, 1791, the National Assembly decreed that "trade with India, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, is free for all French people" and thus deprived the company of its monopoly. Gathered in a general meeting on April 10, the shareholders appointed 8 commissioners responsible for studying a possible continuation of the activity, among them Dangirard (uncle of Mallet), Monneron (founder of the Caisse des Comptes Courants), and Sabatier . On May 23, the shareholders decided on the resumption of activity and appointed 4 commissioners Delessert, Fulchiron, Gauthier and Mallet responsible for drafting the statutes of the new *Compagnie des Indes* . The capital is reduced to thirty million and the number of counters reduced to seven: Pondicherry, Yanaon, Mahé, Canton, Surate, Mauritius and Reunion Island. Liberalization and the Revolution did not interfere with business, which grew steadily and the share price reached 1,500 pounds.

Years	Sales figures	Benefits
1786	14,631,807 pounds	
1787	12,805,994 pounds	
1788	19,157,615 pounds	
1789	11,088,028 pounds	7,226,550 pounds
1790	26,660,471 pounds	8,013,363 pounds
1791	35,154,473 pounds	8,176,691 pounds
1792		8,837,124 pounds
1793		7,805,902 pounds

During the Terror the *Compagnie des Indes* was suspected of counter-revolutionary activities and the Convention decreed on 07/26/1793 the affixing of seals to its buildings. A second decree of 11/10/1793 suppresses the *Compagnie des Indes* and requisitions goods and ships (the whole estimated at 28,544,00 pounds); the directors of the company were imprisoned, many were guillotined, the others escaped capital punishment by being interned as mentally ill in Dr. Belhomme's nursing home on the recommendation of Cambacérès, cousin of Sabatier and chairman of the legislation committee.

After 9 Thermidor, Cambacérès, who had become president of the committee of public safety, freed the surviving directors. The management of the company is recreated in a reduced form: 10 people including Sabatier , Mallet and Moreau. On May 30, 1795, a deputation of fifteen people (including Lecouteulx, Audibert, Devaisnes, Mallet and Moreau) was sent to the Convention to request the restitution of the seized property. In July 1795, the sequestration was lifted and three ships were returned. But the *Compagnie des Indes* cannot resume its commercial activities and the shareholders decide to liquidate it. Determined to obtain compensation for the requisitions of 1793, the commissioners-liquidators Mallet, Martin son of André and Rodier began legal proceedings against the State which ended in 1875.

Nota Bene: the funds from the liquidation of the *Compagnie des Indes* are deposited in an account at the Banque de France .

The Anzin Mining Company

Founded in 1756 by Viscount Désandrouin and Jacques Mathieu, the *Société des Mines d'Anzin* is the largest coal company in France. The use of fire pumps (steam engines) to pump the water and bring up the coal allows the exploitation of galleries at a depth of more than 200 m. In 1789, the company with 27 wells, 12 steam engines and 4000 workers ensured a third of French production. The installations required an investment of 25 million pounds (15 million for the shafts, 2 million for the steam engines and 8 million for the equipment).



In 1791, the National Assembly discusses mining concessions, the *Société des Mines d'Anzin* employs Mirabeau to safeguard its interests. The links between the *Mines of Anzin* and politics continued during the Revolution with the employment of Cambacérès as a legal adviser. In 1793, the share of the capital held by the noble emigrants (i.e. 14 sols) was seized. These shares were sold to Désandrouin in June 1795. A month later, the latter resold a large part of them (11 sols 1 denier) for the sum of 2,261,700 pounds to a group of financiers from the Compagnie des Indes.

Main shareholders in year X:

Desandrouin	4 sols 10 deniers	Thieffries	1 floor
Lecouteulx	2 sols 3 deniers	Desprez	11 denarii
Perier	2 sols 3 deniers	Vve Pourrat born Lecouteulx	11 denarii
Vve Bernier	1 sol 10 denarii	Cambaceres	10 denarii
Sabatier	1 sol 10 denarii	Berryer	6 denarii
NB: the share capital is one pound divided into 24 sols of 12 denarii each.			

Next to Désandrouin, we find the fine flower of the administration of the *Compagnie des Indes* : Desprez, Lecouteulx, Périer, Sabatier , the widows of two directors (Bernier and Pourrat), Thieffries (Périer's partner) and for smaller shares, the company's two legal advisers (Berryer and Cambacérès). Thanks to the financial support of Sabatier , the Périers gradually took control of the Mines d'Anzin.

The Bankers of 18 Brumaire

In November 1799, the new consuls found only 167,000 francs in the coffers of the Public Treasury. On November 24, Bonaparte summons the most important Parisian bankers (Perregaux, Davillier, Germain, Sévène, Fulchiron, Mallet, Delessert & Récamier), explains to them the situation of public finances and demands a loan of 12 million francs. They pretend to accept but only advance 3 million out of the 12 requested. The finances of the Consulate are saved by the intervention of Cambacérès who obtains 8 million from his friend Michel the Younger and by the creation of a lottery.

Overall, financiers are adopting a wait-and-see position vis-à-vis the consular regime. A letter from the banker Hottinguer summarizes the little support the Consulate can expect from the financiers: *"Everything is as frozen as time here. The Constitution is received with lukewarmness and I fear that it is not a definitive version."*

Main creditors of the State in August 1801:

Michael brothers	7,132,600 F	Fulchiron	630,000 F
Mont-de-Piete	5,023,000 F	combe	600,000 F
Recamier	1,600,000 F	Sabatier	600,000 F
Delamarre	1,200,000 F	come back	554,000 F
Davillier	1,170,000 F	Gosset	500,000 F
Bank of France	834,000F	barillon	500,000 F
Dewelle	640,000 F		

The *"lukewarmness"* translates concretely into a weak commitment of the banks to support the regime which must borrow 5 million from the Mont-de-Piété. The clan of financiers linked to Cambacérès (Michel, Davillier, Fulchiron, Sabatier and Barrillon) still provides significant support to public finances. We can note the commitment of Récamier who becomes the third creditor of the State. Contrary to what is often written, the so-called bankers of 18 Brumaire gave little support to the new regime in its early stages. Only the prospect of the Peace of Amiens and the resumption of trade with England led the bankers to support Bonaparte from 1802.

Gabriel Julien Ouvrard

(Clisson 11/10/1770 - London ??/10/1846)



The financier Gabriel Julien Ouvrard runs under the Directory a vast business network linked to colonial trade and military supplies: from his Paris offices, he controls three trading houses in Brest, Nantes and Orléans, the *Gamba bank, Gay & Cie* in Antwerp and holds significant stakes in three Parisian companies (*Girardot & Cie* , *Rougemont & Cie* , *Charlemagne & Cie*). He also partnered with major suppliers: Vanlerberghe for wheat, the Michel brothers for military supplies, Caroillon and Roy for steel and wood. Since the end of the Ancien Régime, Ouvrard has been associated with the Bordeaux shipowners Baour and Balguerie.

In September 1798, he obtained the general supply of provisions for the Navy for six years: this contract for 64 million gold francs was signed in the name of his brother-in-law Blanchard. A few months later, he took over the contract for the Spanish fleet stationed in Brest and then the supplies for the army of Italy in 1799. He was arrested in January 1800 on the orders of the first consul Bonaparte, but the examination of his accounts and of its contracts (drafted by its legal director Cambacérès) does not reveal any irregularity. Ouvrard freed, takes part in the supplies of the army of Marengo and the army of England stationed in Boulogne; he was also one of the founders of the *Compagnie des Négociants Réunis* .

After the crisis of 1805, the Public Treasury claimed the sum of 141 million gold francs from him. In 1809, Ouvrard was imprisoned in Sainte-Pélagie for unpaid debt and released three months later. Understanding that only maritime peace can bring back economic growth, he tries to negotiate a secret peace with England: this project carried out with Louis Bonaparte and Fouché earned him three years in prison. The Restoration gave him back his possessions and canceled his debt to the Treasury: the decision of the Duke of Richelieu, Louis XVIII's prime minister, was no doubt motivated by old and fruitful relations.

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General plan of the classification of laws

presented by Cambacérès at the Convention

Government is the principal idea to which all laws are reduced; it is the exercise of power which belongs only to the People and which it delegates to its representatives.

Basis of Legislation
Bill of Rights

First principle: *to sacrifice the most symmetrical method, when it results in detaching in a way a provision or laws which complete it.*

Second principle: *never divide, in order to maintain the greatest regularity, dispositions that become clearer when brought together.*

Part One: *Government Organization Laws*

I: Constitution
II: Code of the revolutionary government
III: Code of emigrants

Part Two: *Laws specific to government action*

IV: Code of External Relations
V: Criminal Code
VI: Civil Code
VII: Code of Civil Procedure
VIII: Code of Civil Administrations
IX: Code of Agriculture
X: Code of Sciences & Arts
XI: Code of Public Works
XII: Code du Commerce
XIII: Supply Code
XIV: Roads & Canals Code
XV: Transport, Post & Courier Code
XVI: Monetary Code
XVII: Public Relief Code

Part Three: *Laws Relative to the Means or Force of Government*

XVIII: Code of Public Instruction
XIX: Military Code
XX: Code of the Navy & Colonies
XXI: Code of Armaments
XXII: Code of Fortifications
XXIII: Code of National
Estates XXIV: Code of Woods & Forests
XXV: Code of contributions
XXVI: National Treasury Code
XXVII: Public Debt & Liquidation Code
XXVIII: Accounting Code

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HIS WORK: THE CIVIL CODE

"My true glory is not to have won forty battles; Waterloo will erase the memory of so many victories; what nothing will erase, what will live forever, is my Civil Code." (**Napoleon Bonaparte** , *The Memorial of Saint Helena*)



In terms of civil jurisprudence, there is a contrast between a France of written law, comprising the southern half of the country and Alsace, which applies a law inspired by Roman law (Justinian Code), and a France of oral law, applying customary law. , which varies from region to region. It is estimated that there are 60 general customs (the most important being the Paris custom) and about 300 local customs.

Inspired by the various attempts at codification attempted under the Ancien Régime (Drafting of customs by the ordinance of Montilz-lès-Tours in 1454, Code Henri in 1585, Code Marillac in 1614), the National Assembly decrees on April 5 1790 that a Code of the civil laws of the kingdom will be made. The Convention quite naturally instructs the Legislation Committee to submit to it a draft Civil Code. Cambacérès, its president, is working on a task that was to last ten years.

Trained as a lawyer and man of the Enlightenment, Cambacérès seems, according to Vialles, to have been inspired by three principles in the drafting of the various civil codes:

- get as close as possible to natural law, because the laws of nature are superior to all others.
- maintain complete unity in legislation, because the truth is one and indivisible.
- bring the most extreme simplicity in the legal prescriptions, because few laws are enough for honest men.

FIRST PROJECT

This project, made up of 695 articles divided into two parts: persons and property, included many innovative provisions in social matters.

Personal law regulates births, majority set at 21, marriage, divorce and death. The ideas of the Enlightenment are illustrated in particular in the definition of the relationship between parents and children: *" Supervision and protection, these are the rights of parents; to feed, bring up, settle their children, these are their duties. Children will be endowed by learning, from their tender childhood, a profession of agriculture or mechanical art. (...) The children of the fatherland will show their harvests, their cultures, their work and they will say to the astonished envy: here are our treasures.* (**Cambaceres**).

The text suppresses, for the same reasons, the notion of bastardy and reforms the principles of adoption: *"Adoption is the foreign branch grafted onto an ancient trunk; it revives its sap; it embellishes its stem with new offshoots; and , by this happy insertion, it crowns the tree with a new harvest of flowers and fruits. Admirable institution which you had the glory of renewing and which is so naturally linked to the Constitution of the Republic, since it brings without crisis the division of the great fortunes."* (**Cambaceres**). The project establishes divorce, which can be requested by one of the spouses from the family council, the marriage being deemed dissolved 15 days after the request, as well as the payment of alimony to the ex-spouse who assumes child care. The law of persons ends by dealing with guardianship, prohibitions and absentees.

In the second part, Cambacérès deals with the means of acquiring and keeping property, then with the rules for disposing of property. In particular, the rules of succession, agreements and mortgages are reformed. In matters of succession, the project retains only two testamentary forms: inter vivos donation and hereditary donation. All the children share the family patrimony equally, with the exception of a tiny part which the head of the family can dispose of as he sees fit.

On August 9, 1793, he presented, on behalf of the Legislation Committee, his first draft of the civil code. But the Convention decrees the adjournment for eight days and the discussion does not begin until August 22. In the preliminary speech, Cambacérès says *"Citizens, it finally arrived this so desired time which must fix for ever the empire of freedom and the destinies of France. The Constitution requested everywhere with transport, was received by all the good citizens with a feeling of admiration and gratitude. (...) Your work is not yet finished. After having walked for a long time over the ruins, the great edifice of civil legislation must be erected; an edifice simple in its structure , but majestic in its proportions; grand in its very simplicity and all the more solid because, not being built on the quicksand of systems, it will rise on the firm ground of the laws of nature and on virgin soil. of the Republic"* (**Cambaceres**).

The Convention begins the reading and discussion of the various articles. The discussion stumbles on the equality of the spouses, and under the impulse of Merlin de Douai, the conventional ones reject the article instituting the joint management of the goods of the household. A few articles were then voted on, in particular on divorce, but the mountain dwellers led by Levasseur and Fabre d'Eglantine found the project too inspired by the spirit of lawyers and had a decree voted establishing a commission of 6 philosophers responsible for reforming the project. Here ends the examination of the first draft of the Civil Code.

SECOND PROJECT

After Thermidor, Cambacérès presents a new draft Civil Code. In accordance with the wishes of the Convention, this Code is very brief (287 articles). Cambacérès divided the civil legislation into 3 parts according to a ternary articulation which still prevails today (persons, goods and obligations). This principle of division is explained in his preliminary speech: *"Three things are necessary and sufficient for man living in society: to be master of his person; to have goods to fulfill his needs; to be able to dispose, for his greatest interest, of his person and his property. All civil rights are therefore reduced to the rights of liberty, property and contract."* (**Cambaceres**).

The project contains some new features compared to the previous one. The equality of the spouses is reinforced by the abolition of paternal authority and its replacement by joint authority over the children. Adoption is favored by extending the right to adopt to any citizen: man or woman, single or married (with the consent of the spouse), but it is framed, because there must be *between the adopter and the adoptive child the distance from puberty* .

On September 9, 1794, Cambacérès went up to the podium to defend his project, Vialles noted that the tone had changed: *"legal science replaced philosophical tenderness there"* . The Convention votes fairly quickly on the first 9 articles. The discussion resumed three days later, it stalled and only the tenth article was voted on. The whole is sent back for revision to the *Commission of Eleven* , to which Cambacérès and Merlin de Douai are assistants, which has the effect of closing the discussion of the second draft of the Civil Code.

THIRD PROJECT

On the strength of the experience of the rejection of his second project considered as a table of contents, Cambacérès presents a more detailed code (1104 articles) still divided into 3 parts (persons, goods and obligations). He defends writing in the present tense: *"The laws of Moses are in the future tense; that of the Twelve-Tables is in the imperative. The French language cannot include this mode."* (**Cambaceres**)

On August 26, 1796, Cambacérès again ascended the rostrum to defend his civil code: *"Today that everything has changed in the political order, it is essential to replace the old laws with a code of simple laws."* (**Cambaceres**). He was attacked by the conservative wing of the Cinq-Cents, which judged certain provisions to be immoral (divorce, the rights granted to children born out of wedlock and the principle of equality of heirs). On January 22, 1797, he succeeded in having the plan of the Civil Code adopted, several articles were adopted in the process, in particular on filiation. But on February 26, some deputies reconsidered the previously adopted plan and Cambacérès understood that the examination of the project would no longer progress (on May 23, 1798, the Council of Five Hundred still discussed the *preparatory indications on the order to be followed* to examine the draft Civil Code).

FINAL PROJECT

After the second Italian campaign, Bonaparte summoned Cambacérès and said to him: *"You have drawn up several codes, don't you think that it would be useful to recast them and present to the Legislative Body a project which was up to this century and worthy of government?* . The second Consul gives him his three projects. Enthusiastic, Bonaparte proposes to entrust the overhaul to a commission and asks Cambacérès: *"Tell me the men who are able to do this work and write a decree in this direction."* . On August 12, 1800, a consular decree set up a commission responsible for preparing a draft civil code, it was made up of four members:

- Bigot de Préameneu Félix-Julien-Jean (1747-1825): Lawyer in the parliaments of Rennes then Paris, he was appointed State Councilor in 1801. President of the legislation section of the Council of State, he succeeded Portalis as Minister of Worship.

- Maleville Jacques de (1741-1824): Elected to the Council of Elders, he was appointed in 1801 to the Court of Cassation, of which he chaired the civil section. Maleville was named senator in 1806, then count of the Empire in 1808.

- Portalis Jean-Etienne-Marie (1745-1807): Lawyer in the Parliament of Aix, Portalis was elected to the Council of Elders. Sentenced to exile, he returned after 18 Brumaire. Government Commissioner to the Prize Council, then State Councilor in 1800, he became Minister of Religion in 1804.

- Tronchet François-Denis (1726-1806): Lawyer and jurisconsult, Tronchet was elected to the Estates General. Defender of Louis XVI, then elected to the Council of Elders, he became president of the Court of Cassation in 1800. Appointed senator in 1801, he rests in the Pantheon.

On January 21, 1801, the commission submitted its report for opinion to the Court of Cassation and the Courts of Appeal. The discussion of the Civil Code begins in plenary assembly of the Council of State on July 17, 1801. The texts are transmitted to the Tribunate as the work progresses. On December 12, 1801, the Tribunate rejected the preliminary title: *De la publication des lois* by 142 votes against 139, this rejection was confirmed by a vote of the Legislative Body. On January 2, 1802, the government withdrew the bill and allowed the tribunes to make observations before the texts were voted on.



On September 9, 1802, the discussion resumed at the Council of State, the sessions were chaired by the First Consul or by the Second Consul in his absence. Cambacérès prepares all the work by communicating the documents concerning the agenda, as well as the extracts from his three codes, which earned him some criticism from the State Councilors who found these previous projects too steeped in the ideas of the Enlightenment. or the Revolution. He leads practically all the debates, Bonaparte says of him: *"Cambacérès acts as the general counsel; he speaks sometimes for, sometimes against". Of* the 109 meetings of the Council of State necessary for the discussion of the Civil Code, 52 are chaired by Cambacérès. The influence of the First Consul translates into a very Mediterranean conception of the family subject to the authority of the father of the family, while the influence of Cambacérès allows the establishment of divorce by mutual consent and recognition of conform adoption. to previous projects.

On March 8, 1804, the 36 laws were classified and the articles were numbered in a single series. Bigot de Préameneu proposes a complete revision of the work, Cambacérès opposes it: *"The correction of errors and typographical errors is of right; but a general revision would have serious disadvantages. We would come back to redoing the entire Civil Code, and independently of the delay that this work would entail, it would have no other effect than to substitute for provisions adopted after mature examination, provisions whose whole merit, perhaps, would be to be new, and which would not have more than the reformed provisions received the sanction of time and experience."* (**Cambaceres**). On March 10, he suggested merging the various laws into one called *the "French Civil Code"*. The law which contains 2281 articles divided into 4 parts: the application of the laws, the goods, the people and the property, is promulgated on March 21, 1804.

Maleville proposes to repeal all old laws and prohibit the courts from citing them *"as a written reason"* . The first proposal receives the consent of the Second Consul who considers it useless, but he opposes the second: *"It is impossible for the Civil Code to contain the solution of all the questions that may arise. Therefore, we cannot should not deprive the courts of the advantage of drawing their decisions from other authorities."* (**Cambaceres**). Thus ends a task begun almost thirteen years ago.

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REDDE CAMBACERI QUAE SUNT CAMBACERIS

"Give back to Cambacérès what belongs to Cambacérès"

A-B-C

Act of forfeiture of the Emperor (02/04/1814)

On April 2, 1814, the conservative Senate under the leadership of Talleyrand (head of the provisional government since the day before) and its president Barthélémy voted for the forfeiture of the Emperor. According to many biographers, Cambacérès rallied twice to the act of forfeiture voted by the Senate: once on 04/07/1814 and a second time on 04/09/1814.
In fact, it was Cardinal Etienne-Hubert de Cambacérès who, on April 7, supported the act of forfeiture of the Emperor. On April 10, Jean-Jacques Régis sends Talleyrand his full support *"for all the acts made by the Senate since the current April 1 as well as for the provisions which are the result of its acts."* Many senators are waiting for Cambacérès' response before deciding, so the letter was backdated to April 9 and immediately inserted in the edition of the *Moniteur* of 04/12/1814.

Address to the French (09/10/1794)

The day after his election as President of the Convention, Cambacérès wrote the *Address to the French* , the true profession of faith of the Thermidorian Republic:
within France the tomb of liberty. The heirs to the crimes of Robespierre and all the conspirators whom you have struck down are agitated. (...) Flee those who speak incessantly of blood and the scaffold, these exclusive patriots, these outraged men, these men enriched by the Revolution who fear the action of justice and who count on finding their salvation in confusion and anarchy. Esteem, seek out these industrious and modest men, these good and pure beings who flee places and who practice the republican virtues without ostentation. The time has come to conquer by firmness and wisdom. Calm must finally succeed all the storms. The vessel of the Republic so often battered by the he storm touches the shore, take care not to push it back amid the rocks."

Archchancellor of the Empire



The constitution of year XII (1804) sets the functions of the Prince-Archchancellor:

Title V: Of the Great Dignities of the Empire

Art 32: The great dignities of the Empire are those of grand elector, archchancellor of the Empire, archchancellor of State, archtreasurer, constable, grand admiral.

Art 33: The holders of the great dignities of the Empire are appointed by the Emperor. They enjoy the same honors as the French princes, and rank immediately after them. The time of their reception determines the rank they respectively occupy.

Art 34: The great dignities of the Empire are irremovable.

Art 35: The holders of the great dignities of the Empire are senators and councilors of State.

Art 36: They form the great council of the Emperor. They are members of the privy council. They make up the Grand Council of the Legion of Honor.

Art 40: The Archchancellor of the Empire performs the functions of Chancellor for the promulgation of organic senatus-consulte and laws. He also serves as Chancellor of the Imperial Palace. He is present at the annual work in which the Grand Judge Minister of Justice reports to the Emperor on any abuses that may have occurred in the administration of justice, whether civil or criminal. He presides over the Imperial High Court. He presides over the combined sections of the Council of State and of the Tribunate, in accordance with article 95, title XI. He is present at the celebration of marriages and the birth of princes, at the coronation and funeral of the Emperor. He signs the report drawn up by the Secretary of State. It presents the holders of the great dignities of the Empire, the ministers and the Secretary of State, the great civil officers of the crown, the first president of the Court of Cassation, to the oath which they take between the hands of the Emperor. They receive the oath of the members and of the prosecution of the Court of Cassation, of the presidents and general prosecutors of the courts of appeal and the criminal courts. He presents the solemn deputations and the members of the courts of justice admitted to the audience of the Emperor. He signs and seals the commissions and patents of the members of the courts of justice and ministerial officers; it seals the commissions and certificates of the administrative civil functions, and the other acts which will be indicated in the regulation carrying organization of the seal.

Art 45: Each holder of the great dignities of the Empire presides over a departmental electoral college. (...) The electoral college sitting in Bordeaux is chaired by the Archchancellor of the Empire. (…)

Art 46: Each holder of the great dignities of the Empire receives annually, as a fixed salary, one third of the sum allocated to the princes, in accordance with the decree of December 21, 1790.

D-E-F

Hereditary Empire (05/18/1804)

A staunch Republican, Cambacérès disapproves of the principle of a hereditary monarchy. That evening in March 1804, he confided his feelings to Lebrun : *"Bonaparte, who will no longer be restrained by the forms of the republic, will take himself for Louis XIV, and France has made a Revolution against that. (...) We have made the war with Europe (...) and we will make it now to give him monarchs sons or brothers of ours, and France will succumb to these mad enterprises. And then, Lebrun, you know very well who if a throne is restored , the supporters of the Bourbons will find the way easier to carry their suitor there. What a serious error!* .
The legislative commission in charge of drafting the new constitution is set up: there sit the consuls, the ministers and some senators like Tronchet and Roederer. Very quickly, Cambacérès who argues against the monarchical principle, comes up against Bonaparte. This one, flattered by Talleyrand and Fouché, puts Cambacérès away from the discussions; tension shows between the two men. On May 15, Cambacérès argues against heredity: *"Let there not be this stupid, anachronistic and destructive institution, which entrusts power to the one who by chance was born first"* then he resigns from his duties as Second Consul .
The next day, Bonaparte summons Cambacérès to Saint-Cloud to try to make him change his mind. He offered him the post of Archchancellor (a post created on the advice of Talleyrand who coveted it). Cambacérès accepts and to cut short the rumors of dissension between the two men, it is Cambacérès, president of the Senate who proclaims the Empire on May 18 in Saint-Cloud.

Victory Day (21/10/1794)

Demonstration organized on the Champ de Mars to celebrate the complete liberation of the territory of the Republic. Cambacérès, President of the Convention, delivered a speech, in which he recalled the day *"when a hypocritical conspirator came to display the sumptuous apparatus of tyranny, and to burn, in honor of the Divinity, an incense which he secretly reserved for him"* . A few months have passed, *"and now the people and their representatives, gathered in this same enclosure, come to proclaim freedom and the defeat of the despots allied against it"* . He speaks of the time when the French, in the midst of abundance and happiness, would say to their children: *"O have you eyes have never been sullied by the aspect of a throne, learn that he There were times when your fathers bowed their heads under the rod of a tyrant; learn the battles by which they knew how to conquer the Republic* . And he urges the future generation to *"carefully preserve the precious heritage of freedom"* , and to *"remember that we would always seek to rob it of this sacred deposit"* .

G-H-I

J-K-L

Levies of conscripts

The resumption of war in 1805 forced the rapid raising of an army. The Legislative Body not being in session, the conscription cannot follow the legal way, the Emperor therefore asks for a vote of the Senate which by a senatus-consulte authorizes the lifting of 80,000 men. The relative docility of the Senate skillfully maneuvered by Cambacérès leads Napoleon to use the senatorial route for each of his troop needs.

Levies of conscripts by senatus-consulte under the Empire:

Year XIII	Year XIV	1807	1808	1809
80,000	80,000	160,000	160,000	76,000
1810	**1811**	**1812**	**1813**	**1814**
160,000	120,000	350,000	790,000	0

In fifteen years of power, Napoleon raises about 2 million men (36% of the mobilized or 7% of the French population). The sharp rise in levies in the last years of the reign gave rise to the legend of the ogre and made the regime unpopular. The Senate tried to resist in 1814 but discredited by years of docility, it lost all popular support.
Cambacérès appears in the front line: for public opinion he is responsible for the multiple levies of conscripts. Real black point of his political career: conscription is the cause of the unpopularity of Cambacérès.

M-N-O

Opposition to Napoleon



Unlike the other ministers and advisers, Cambacérès expressed his disagreement with Napoleon on numerous occasions. While this often happens in private, we know of certain circumstances. Under the Consulate, Cambacérès unsuccessfully opposed the arrests of General Moreau and the Duc d'Enghien. He suggests signing a trade treaty with England to consolidate the Peace of Amiens, but Napoleon prefers to set up the Continental Blockade… He also opposes the setting up of the hereditary Empire .
Under the Empire, it was not consulted in 1808 when Napoleon invaded Spain on the advice of Talleyrand. Cambacérès discovers the extent of the Spanish disaster during the long interims of the following years. In 1810, he disapproved of the divorce from Josephine, explaining that she was much loved by the French. Strengthened by his Masonic ties with certain members of the Romanov family and Prince Kourakine , Cambacérès worked to overcome the last reservations of Tsar Alexander I. He fights Austrian marriage by arguing that unlike the Romanovs, the Habsburgs never honored marriage covenants.
Its main success is the safeguard of the parliamentary system, which prevents the return of absolute monarchy to the Restoration. In October 1809, Napoleon made the decision to abolish the Legislative Body and vote the laws himself. Cambacérès, very attached to the ideas of the Revolution, will never deal with this file. In 1812, Napoleon, exasperated by the slowness of Cambacérès, threatened to modify the Constitution so as to be able to override the Archchancellor of the Empire on this file. Cambacérès still managed to gain time until December 1813. Cambacérès ceased his political functions at the beginning of the year 1814 after the adjournment of the Legislative Body.
The caricature opposite dates from 1814. It illustrates the 4-year fight between Napoleon and Cambacérès for the decree adjourning the Legislative Body. It is inspired by the Wrestlers: an ancient statue kept at the Uffizi Museum in Florence.

P-Q-R-S

Private font

Like Fouché or Talleyrand, Cambacérès has his own network of informants. He appointed chief of his secret police a certain Guilly, a former attaché to the security police of the Directory. Guilly is described as " *a tall dark man, somewhat stooped and deprived of one eye as a result of a gun fight"* (**Préfecture de Police** , report of 08/06/1802). One evening in a Parisian café, a man named Vivier said that he was the second Consul's agent and that he was waiting for a mission in the provinces (**Préfecture de Police** , report dated 08/12/1801).
Little is known about the private police. If it is common knowledge that the agents of Cambacérès are well paid, there is no trace of it in the notebooks of reason and the registers of expenses. In 1802, Bonaparte asked Commissioner Dossonville for a detailed report on the activities of the Cambacérès secret police. Barely drafted, this document disappeared from the archives of the Prefecture of Police.

Second Consul

The constitution of year VIII (1800) sets the functions of the second consul:

Title II: Of the Conservative Senate

Art 24: Citizens *Sieyès* and *Roger-Ducos* , outgoing consuls, are appointed members of the Conservative Senate: they will meet with the second and third consul appointed by this Constitution. These four citizens appoint the majority of the Senate, which then completes itself, and proceeds to the elections entrusted to it.

Title IV: Of the Government

Art 39: The government is entrusted to three consuls appointed for ten years and indefinitely re-eligible. Each of them is elected individually, with the distinct quality of first, or second, or third consul. The Constitution appoints Citizen *Bonaparte* , ex-provisional consul, as First Consul; second consul, the citizen *Cambacérès* , ex-minister of justice; and third consul citizen *Lebrun* , ex-member of the commission of the Council of Ancients. For this time the third consul is named only for five years.

Art 40: The First Consul has particular functions and particular attributions, in which he is temporarily replaced, when necessary, by one of his colleagues.

Art 41: The First Consul promulgates the laws; he appoints and dismisses at will the members of the Council of State, the ministers, the ambassadors and other chief external agents, the officers of the army and navy, the members of the local administrations and the government commissions attached to the courts. He appoints all criminal and civil judges other than justices of the peace and judges of cassation, without being able to dismiss them.

Art 42: In the other acts of the government, the second and the third consul have consultative voice: they sign the register of these acts to note their presence; and if they wish, they record their opinions there; after which the decision of the First Consul is sufficient.

Art 43: The salary of the First Consul will be five hundred thousand francs in the year VIII. The salary of each of the other two consuls is equal to three tenths of that of the first.

T-U-V

Transfer of Rousseau's ashes to the Pantheon (10/11/1794)	On October 9, the coffin left the island of Poplars in Ermenonville to be deposited in the National Garden in Paris. On October 11, Cambacérès, president of the Convention, delivered a speech at the Pantheon: *"Profound moralist, apostle of freedom, Rousseau was the precursor who called the nation on the roads of glory and happiness ... At the first look that he threw on the human race, he saw the peoples on their knees, bent under the scepters and the crowns; he dared to pronounce the words of equality and liberty! These words resounded in all the hearts, and the peoples are lifted (...) He was the first to predict the fall of empires and monarchies: he said that Europe had aged, and that these great bodies, close to colliding, were going to collapse like these ancient mountains which rise. sink under the weight of the centuries. (...) Rousseau lived in poverty, and his example teaches us that it does not belong to fortune either to give or to take away true greatness. (...) His life will be a epoch in the splendours of virtue; and this day, these honors, this apotheosis, this concurrence of a whole people, this triumphal pomp, everything announces that the National Convention wants to pay both, towards the philosopher of nature, both the debt of the French, and the recognition of humanity"* .

W X Y Z

02/26/07 - Emmanuel Prunaux

Cambaceres (1753-1824)

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BIOGRAPHY

OLD REGIME

10/18/1753: Birth of Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès in Montpellier . He is the son of Jean-Antoine de Cambacérès , mayor of the city, and Marie-Rose de Vassal .

20/10/1753: Baptism in the parish church of Saint-Pierre, in accordance with Languedoc tradition, his godfather Charles Bouyer and his godmother Jeanne Temple were two orphans from the general hospital.

Year 1772: After obtaining his law degree at the Faculty of Montpellier, Cambacérès became a lawyer in Montpellier . He was initiated as a Freemason in the *St-Jean du Secret* lodge (attached to the English rite).

21/10/1772: Cambacérès buys the office of councilor mayor of the town of Mirepoix (Ariège). His father Jean-Antoine de Cambacérès had acquired this charge on 09/25/1756.

16/11/1774: Taking over the charge of his father, Cambacérès becomes adviser to the Court of Accounts, Aids and Finances of Montpellier . This office of magistrate has been in his family since 1640.

Year 1776: He undertakes a trip to Paris for a few weeks with his friend Jean-Antoine Chaptal .

05/17/1779: Cambacérès joins the lodge *l'Ancienne and the Réunion des Elects* (attached to the Grand Orient of France).

Year 1786: Elected deputy of the Montpellier lodges at the annual meeting of the Grand Orient .

February 1789: He undertakes a trip to Paris, to obtain financial assistance from his uncle, but Abbot Etienne-François de Cambacérès refuses it.

31/03/1789: Elected second deputy of the Nobility for the Estates General. The Seneschal of Montpellier having obtained only one seat, he did not leave for Versailles.

REVOLUTION

09/08/1789: Appointed head of the Bureau des Subsistances de Montpellier .

01/10/1789: Beaten by a narrow majority for the presidency, Cambacérès is elected Vice-president of the council of the city of Montpellier .

05/01/1790: Creation of the *Society of Friends of the Constitution* in Montpellier. Among the founding members of this club are d'Aigrefeuille , Cambacérès, Cambon , Chaptal , Pavée de Villevieille .

20/06/1790: Elected deputy to the Prosecutor-Syndic of the district of Montpellier .

01/12/1791: Purchase of the Château de Saint-Drézery , near Montpellier .

09/13/1791: Elected President of the Criminal Court of Hérault by 316 votes out of 416 voters. He took office on 01/01/1792 and chaired the first session on 15/02/1792.

02/09/1792: Elected Deputy of Hérault to the Convention.

10/14/1792: Appointed to the Civil and Criminal Legislation Committee , he became its President in December of the same year.

07/11/1792: He challenges the Convention's power to judge the king.

01/15/1793: Cambacérès votes YES to the question *"Louis Capet, former king of the French, is he guilty of conspiring against freedom and of attacking state security?"* .

01/17/1793: He votes for the detention of Louis XVI until the end of hostilities.

01/20/1793: He votes NO to the question *"Will the execution of Louis Capet's judgment be stayed? Yes or no?"* . He had the Convention pass a decree allowing the king to see his family and a priest.

01/24/1793: Elected Secretary of the Convention.

03/26/1793: Elected Secretary of the Committee for General Defense and Public Safety .

04/01/1793 - 04/05/1793: Elected President of the Committee for General Defense and Public Safety .

04/06/1793: He defends at the Convention a law guaranteeing the rights of natural children, in particular the attribution of a half-share during successions.

08/09/1793: Cambacérès presents its first draft of the Civil Code to the Convention *(695 articles in 2 parts: goods and people)* .

07/15/1794: Cambacérès presents to the Convention his draft General Plan for the classification of laws .

25/07/1794: To Tallien, Legendre and Cambon who urge him *"to act clearly"* (against Robespierre), he replies *"To vote with you yes, but to fight, no, because I don't even know how to arm a rifle"* .

09/09/1794: Presentation of the second draft of the Civil Code to the Convention *(287 articles in 3 parts: property, persons and obligations)* .

07/10/1794 - 22/10/1794: Elected President of the Convention.

09/10/1794: Publication of the speech called *"Address to the French"* .

10/11/1794: Cambacérès presides over the transfer of Rousseau's ashes to the Pantheon.

10/21/1794: Cambacérès presides over the Fête des Victoires at the Champ de Mars.

07/11/1794 - 05/03/1795: Elected President of the Committee of Public Safety .

05/04/1795 - 02/08/1795: Re-elected President of the Committee of Public Safety .

09/01/1795 - 10/30/1795: Re-elected President of the Committee of Public Safety .

12/10/1795: Arrest of a royalist agent named Le Maître . We find in his house an alleged correspondence implicating Cambaceres in a royalist plot.

DIRECTORY

06/12/1796: Presentation of the third draft of the Civil Code to the Council of Five Hundred *(1104 articles in 3 parts: property, persons and obligations)* .

09/04/1796: He founded a legal consulting firm . Specializing in business law, he became the legal adviser to the Compagnie des Indes , the Société des mines d'Anzin *(positions obtained through his cousin Guillaume Sabatier)*, the Orléans family and financiers and munitionaires such as Ouvrard and the Michel brothers.

22/10/1796: Elected President of the Council of Five Hundred.

05/27/1797: Not re-elected in the by-elections of May 1797, he left the Assembly.

07/20/1799: Appointed Minister of Justice thanks to the support of Sieyès .

11/08/1799: Bonaparte's dinner at Cambacérès and clarification of the details of the coup d'etat.

CONSULATE

10/11/1799: With no news from Saint-Cloud, Cambacérès sets up a relief triumvirate with Bernadotte and Augereau in order to take power in the event of Bonaparte's failure.

11/11/1799: Reappointed as Minister of Justice.

12/12/1799: Cambacérès becomes Second Consul of the Republic for 10 years.

February 1800: He moves into the Hotel d'Elbeuf rue Saint-Nicaise.

06/05/1800 - 02/07/1800: During the second campaign of Italy, he ensures the interim of power.

02/01/1802: Rejection by the Tribunate of the fourth draft Civil Code .

08/01/1802 - 27/01/1802: During a trip of the First Consul to Lyon, he takes over the interim of power.

20/05/1802 - 23/05/1802: Cambacérès undertakes an official trip to Seine-et-Marne and the bordering departments.

29/10/1802 - 14/11/1802: During a trip of the First Consul to Normandy, he takes over the interim of power.

05/03/1803 - 15/03/1804: Vote and promulgation of the 36 bills making up the Civil Code .

25/06/1803 - 11/08/1803: During a trip of the First Consul to Belgium, he took over the interim of power.

11/03/1803 - 11/18/1803: During a trip of the First Consul to Boulogne, he acts as interim power.

30/12/1803 - 06/01/1804: During a second trip of the First Consul to Boulogne, he takes over the interim of power.

02/14/1804: Cambacérès expresses his opposition to the arrest of General Moreau.

March 1804: Cambacérès is summoned to Malmaison with his colleague Lebrun . Bonaparte explains to them his desire to transform the Consulate into a hereditary monarchy . During the return, Cambacérès foresees *"The Consulate is over. The imperial monarchy is about to begin. A kind of instinct tells me that it will not last long"* .

03/10/1804: Cambacérès opposes the arrest and execution of the Duke of Enghien.

21/03/1804: Vote of the Law which repeals the old law and unites the 36 laws in a *" Civil Code of the French " (2281 articles in 4 parts: the application of the laws, the goods, the persons and the property)* .

05/15/1804: Disapproving of the principle of the hereditary Empire , Cambacérès resigns from his functions as Second Consul . The next day, he reconsiders his decision after an interview with Bonaparte.

FIRST EMPIRE

05/18/1804: With the proclamation of the Empire , Cambacérès becomes Archchancellor of the Empire .

07/18/1804 - 10/12/1804: During the Emperor's third trip to Boulogne, he was in charge of the interim.

03/12/1804: Elected Administrator-General of the Grand Orient of France.

02/01/1805: Cambacérès is promoted Grand Aigle of the Legion of Honor .

02/08/1805 - 03/09/1805: During the Emperor's fourth trip to Boulogne, he was in charge of the interim.

09/24/1805 - 01/26/1806: During the campaign against the 3rd coalition, he assumed the interim of power and the functions of Grand Elector.

13/12/1805: Elected Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Orient of France to replace Louis Bonaparte.

08/08/1806: Elected Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

09/25/1806 - 07/26/1807: During the Prussian campaign and the operations against the Russian army, he took over the interim of power.

25/10/1806: Elected Grand Master of Heredom from Kilwinning .

04/03/1807: Elected Grand Master of the Mother Lodge of the Philosophical Scottish Rite .

October 1807: He undertakes an official trip to Montpellier . He resides with his cousin Guillaume Sabatier for more than a month. In mid-December, he heads to Bordeaux to chair a meeting of the electoral college.

03/08/1808: Elected Grand Master and Protector of the Primitive Rite of Narbonne (Primitive Scottish Rite).

02/04/1808 - 14/08/1808: On the occasion of the trip that the Emperor undertakes to Bayonne to arbitrate the Spanish dynastic quarrel, Cambacérès assumes the interim of power.

08/09/1808: Purchase of the Hôtel Molé or of Roquelaure boulevard Saint-Germain.

08/18/1808: Cambacérès is made Duke of Parma .

22/09/1808 - 18/10/1808: During the interview in Erfurt, he takes over the interim of power.

29/10/1808 - 23/01/1809: During the expedition to Spain, he took over the interim of power.

March 1809: Elected Grand Master of the Benevolent Knights of the Holy City (Rectified Scottish Rite).

13/04/1809 - 26/10/1809: During the campaign of Austria, he ensures the interim of power

07/29/1809: Landing of the English army *(45,000 men)* on the island of Walcheren in Holland. Vlissingen *(Vlissingen)* is taken on 08/15/1809. Cambacérès charges Bernadotte with the defense of Antwerp. Decimated by fevers, the English re-embarked on 09/30/1809. The choice of Bernadotte, then in disgrace, earned him a severe reprimand from the Emperor.

01/21/1810: Like Fouché and Murat, Cambacérès opposes the marriage of the Emperor with an Austrian princess and defends the Russian option.

03/29/1810 - 04/02/1810: The Emperor leaves Paris for Compiègne to welcome the future Empress Marie-Louise, leaving Cambacérès to assume the interim of power.

04/04/1810 - 06/01/1810: On the occasion of the honeymoon of the Emperor and Marie-Louise in Belgium, he assumes the interim of power. The imperial couple lived in Saint-Cloud until November of the same year.

14/12/1810: On the initiative of Cambacérès, the order of lawyers is restored by imperial decree.

22/05/1811 - 05/06/1811: During a trip by the Emperor to Normandy, he assumed the interim of power.

09/19/1811 - 11/11/1811: During the Emperor's trip to Holland, he was in charge of the interim.

05/09/1812 - 12/19/1812: During the Russian campaign, he took over the interim of power.

23/10/1812: Failed coup by General Malet. He will be judged with his accomplices on 10/28/1812 by a council of war and shot on 10/29/1812.

04/15/1813 - 11/09/1813: During the campaign in Germany, Cambacérès assisted the Empress in the Council of Regency, which he actually chaired.

01/25/1814 - 04/06/1814: During the French campaign, Cambacérès assists the Empress in the Council of Regency, which is chaired by Joseph, appointed Lieutenant-General of the Empire.

03/29/1814: He leaves Paris for Blois with the Imperial Government.

04/10/1814: Cambacérès agrees with the act of forfeiture voted by the Senate and the Legislative Body.

RESTORATION

04/14/1814: Back in Paris, he sits for the last time in the Senate. During this session, the Senate entrusted the Lieutenancy-General of the Kingdom to the Count of Artois.

June 1814: Cambacérès abandons all his Masonic charges and functions .

03/20/1815 - 06/22/1815: During the Hundred Days, Cambacérès is again appointed Archchancellor of the Empire and Minister of Justice.

February 1816: Sale of the Hôtel Molé and purchase of the Hôtel de Bragelonne on rue de l'Université. Struck by the law of exile, Cambacérès leaves Paris with Lavollée and two servants.

02/16/1816: Arrival in Brussels . He stayed at the Hôtel de la Couronne Impériale on the Grand-Place, then at the Hôtel Wellington on rue Ducale.

April 1816: Cambacérès takes the waters at Spa and Aix la Chapelle, he ends his journey in Amsterdam, where he resides until July 1816.

09/10/1816: Purchase of the Hôtel de Schönfeld rue des Paroissiens in Brussels.

05/14/1818: Following the intervention of Decazes and Baron Louis, Minister of Finance, Louis XVIII decides that the law on outlaws no longer applies to Cambacérès.

05/28/1818: His title of Duke and the Legion of Honor are returned to him by royal decree.

08/19/1818: The sequestration of Cambacérès' property is lifted, his income and endowments are returned to him with the arrears by the Royal Treasury.

December 1818: End of exile and return to Paris.

February 1819 - June 1821: Cambacérès undertakes three voyages to Aix la Chapelle, Amsterdam and Brussels to officially take to the waters and see his proscribed friends again. Cambacérès takes away a large sum of cash each time; it is very likely that he sends this money to Saint Helena via a bank in Amsterdam. These annual trips intrigued the police of Louis XVIII. Thus on the last passport, the phrase *"return to France"* is underlined several times: does the Restoration fear a flight from Cambacérès? After Napoleon's death in 1821, Cambacérès stopped travelling.

03/08/1824: Death of Jean-Jacques Régis de Cambacérès in Paris following a stroke.

03/12/1824: Funeral at Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, in the presence of Chaptal , Decazes , Gaudin, Lebrun , MacDonald, Mollien, Mortier, Soult, Suchet, Talleyrand, ... More than 150 cars accompany him to to his final resting place at Père Lachaise. At the same time, a ceremony brings together Ramel and other outlaws in Brussels . His tomb is in the 39th Division (see Some places).

CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

February 1996: Publication of *"Cambacérès"* , biography of Pierre-François Pinaud, professor at the Practical School of Advanced Studies, at Perrin.

November 1999: Publication of *"Unpublished Memoirs or Clarifications published by Cambacérès on the main events of his political life"* by Laurence Chatel de Brancion at Perrin.

26/05/2000 - 27/05/2000: Symposium on Cambacérès organized by the City of Montpellier under the scientific direction of Laurence Chatel de Brancion.

September 2001: Publication of *"Cambacérès, Napoleon's master builder"* by Laurence Chatel de Brancion at Perrin.

08/18/06 - Emmanuel Prunaux

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CAMBACERES from A to Z

A-B-C

Aigrefeuille Fulcrand-Jean-Joseph marquis d'

(??/??/1745 - ??/??/1818)

Chevalier de Malte, d'Aigrefeuille is public prosecutor at the Cour des Comptes, Aides et Finances of Montpellier. His father is a man of the Enlightenment: chemist, a bit of a philosopher, encyclopaedist and gastronome. D'Aigrefeuille is one of the founding members of the *Society of Friends of the Constitution* in Montpellier. He is part with Villevieille of the close entourage of the Archchancellor. Fine gastronomy, he became Cambacérès food officer.
A spy in Fouché's pay, Cambacérès chased him away in 1814 when he discovered his forfeiture, which earned him this epigram:

"D'Aigrefeuille de monseigneur
No longer able to sting the plate,
To bear witness to his pain,
Has put a pancake on his fork."

Antraigues Louis Emmanuel Henri Alexandre de Launay Count of

(Montpellier 25/12/1753 - Barnes 22/07/1812)

Of dubious nobility, he joined the bodyguards on the recommendation of his uncle the Count of Saint-Priest (Intendant of Languedoc, then Minister of the Interior to Louis XVI). He frequented Rousseau and Voltaire then traveled to Europe and the Middle East. Back in Paris, he met Mirabeau and frequented an opera singer (Saint-Huberty). Elected deputy of the nobility to the Estates General despite his *Memoir on the Estates General* (pamphlet against hereditary nobility and royal power), he got angry with all the camps and emigrated.
Entered the service of Spain, he plagnified the invasion of southern France and was then appointed diplomat in Venice. He goes to the service of Russia, but remains in post in Venice. Agent of the Bourbons, he set up a network of informants in France (including Le Maître). Arrested in Trieste, he is released by Bonaparte. Appointed State Councilor by Alexander I, he was sent to London. He goes to England, and sells the secret accords of Tilsit. He dies assassinated with his wife, in troubling conditions.

Arms of the Cambaceres



Or a chevron Gules accompanied by three roses of the same, 2 in chief and 1 in point.

Coat of arms of the Cambaceres of Parma



Or to the sinister Proper, adorned Gules, rebrazed Ermine, moving Sinister, holding the tables of the law Sable; the whole accompanied by three lozenges of the same; , a chief Azure sewn with bees Or. Many historians have vainly sought any symbolism in the coat of arms of Cambacérès. They are quite simply the coat of arms of one of his ancestors Marie Barbe who married Jacques Cambacérès in October 1668. The only addition: the azure chief strewn with golden bees, an attribute of high dignitary princes.

Boutet de Monvel Christmas Barthelemy

(??/??/1770 - ??/??/???)

Son of the dramatic actor Boutet de Monvel and brother of Mlle Mars, Noël found a job as a secretary at the Ministry of Justice, where he met Cambacérès in 1799. He remained attached to the person of Cambacérès and became, with Lavollée , *Secretary of the commandments of the Prince Archchancellor of the Empire* . Monvel is more particularly in charge of administrative and political affairs. He is part of the promenades of the Palais-Royal, always dressed in a black coat.

Cambacérès Jean-Antoine de

(Montpellier 20/04/1715 - Bedarrides 23/09/1801)



Father of Jean-Jacques Régis and adviser to the Court of Accounts, Aid and Finance of Montpellier, Jean-Antoine became mayor of Montpellier on March 5, 1753 on the recommendation of his uncle Duvidal de Montferrier, syndic general of the province of Languedoc. It fights abuses and cuts in municipal expenditure. His intransigence and his bad character created many enmities and he was dismissed in 1756, but his rigorous management caused him to be recalled by Louis XVI shortly afterwards.
During his second term, he discovered that the Intendant of Languedoc, the Count of Saint-Priest (see d'Antraigues) was diverting the town's drinking water to irrigate his estate. Faithful to himself, he attacked Saint-Priest, but the latter obtained his final dismissal in 1778. After his disgrace, he used his prerogative as an adviser to the Court of Auditors to systematically control the accounts of the Intendant. of Languedoc and the new mayor of Montpellier. When his wife
died , he abandoned his children and devoted all his free time to Jeanne Dittry , his mistress. He remarried with her on April 18, 1787 in order to regularize the situation of the two children born of this union. He lived on a small pension, until Jean-Jacques Régis obtained for him a post of justice of the peace in Bedarrides in 1796.

Cambacérès Etienne-François Abbot of

(Montpellier ??/??/1721 - ??? 06/11/1802)

Uncle of Jean-Jacques Régis, Father Etienne-François is also his tutor. A priest known for his talents as a preacher and his outspokenness, he denounced before Louis XV the irregularities of which the court itself gave the example. Later, he gave a panegyric of Saint-Louis to the French Academy, which drew applause from an audience unaccustomed to disturbing the calm of the place. Besides this panegyric, the Abbé de Cambacérès left three volumes of sermons.
Confessor to the Duke of Orléans (the future Philippe Egalité), he remained in his service for many years and introduced Cambacérès to the circle of friends of the Orléans family.

Cambacérès Etienne-Hubert count of

(Montpellier 09/10/1756 - Rouen 10/25/1818)



Younger brother of Jean-Jacques Régis, he entered the seminary in Avignon and became a priest in 1780. Canon in Montpellier and vicar in Alès in 1789, he did not take an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, because he no longer held a post ecclesiastical in 1790. He passed the Revolution without incident thanks to his brother.
Appointed Archbishop of Rouen on April 11, 1802, he became cardinal on January 17, 1803. He welcomes the pope on his arrival in France for the coronation ceremony. Elected Senator in 1805 by the department of Hérault, he opposed the Prefect of Seine-Inférieure on the subject of the leasing of funeral directors. In the autumn of 1805, he presented his resignation to the Emperor, who refused it. Made Count of the Empire in 1808, he supported the Council of 1811 as a convinced Gallican. He voted for forfeiture in 1814 and kept his archbishopric at the Restoration.

Cambacérès Jean-Pierre Hubert de

(Montpellier 13/11/1778 - Paris 05/09/1826)

Half-brother of Jean-Jacques Régis, he enlisted in 1793 in the 14th regiment of mounted chasseurs. After having served in Spain, on the Rhine and in Vendée, Jean-Pierre Hubert took part in the battles of Austerlitz and Jena as a colonel of chasseurs à cheval. He married Anne-Marie Joséphine Philippine Karsch on February 19, 1797, by whom he had 3 children: Marie Jean-Pierre Hubert (1798 - 1881), Joséphine (1800 - ????) and Etienne Armand Napoléon (1804 - 1878). Appointed brigadier general on July 10, 1806, baron of the Empire on May 1, 1808, his bad character harmed his advancement. Military commander of the department of Mont-Tonnerre, he took part in the German campaign of 1813. During the Restoration, the Bourbons put him into retirement.

Cambon Pierre-Joseph

(Montpellier 06/10/1756 - Saint-Josse-ten-Noode 02/15/1820)

A merchant from Montpellier, Cambon was elected deputy for Hérault in the Legislative Assembly and joined the Finance Committee. His opponents invent the expression *"camboniser"* to *"sow chaos in public finances"* . Violently attacked by Robespierre on 8 Thermidor *(07/26/1794)* , he counter-attacked and precipitated the fall of the Incorruptible. Involved in the riot of 12 Germinal of Year III in Paris, he had to retire to Montpellier. Exiled as a regicide during the Restoration, he died near Brussels.

Chaptal Jean-Antoine-Claude Count of Chanteloup

(Nojaret 05/101756 - Paris 10/07/1832)



A doctor by training, Chaptal studied chemistry and its applications. At the end of 1793, he became Inspector of Powders in the South, then responsible for the Grenelle gunpowder factory in Paris. In 1798, he developed his chemical companies, obtained the chair of chemistry at the Ecole Polytechnique and entered the Academy of Sciences.
Councilor of State, he was appointed Minister of the Interior on 01/21/1801. Disapproving of the proclamation of the Empire, he resigned in July 1804 and devoted himself to the study of the cultivation of sugar beet in his domain of Chanteloup. Senator in 1805, Count of the Empire in 1808, Chaptal became Minister of State during the Hundred Days.
In 1819, he published *De l'industrie française* , an industrial assessment of the Revolution and the Empire. It was he who pronounced the eulogy of Cambacérès at Père-Lachaise.

Civil and Criminal Legislation Committee

The Legislation Committee is responsible for the control of administrative and judicial bodies. He holds the initiative for laws and decrees on this subject. He also controls the sale of the property of emigrants.

Public Safety Committee

Committee of General Defense and Public Safety until 06/04/1793 then Committee of Public Safety, it is in charge *of "accelerating and supervising the action of the ministers"* , of which it can moreover suspend the decrees, and must *"to take in urgent circumstances, measures of general external and internal defense"* , he in fact holds the executive power. It is divided into six sections: Foreign Affairs, General Correspondence, War, Interior, Navy and Petitions.

General Security Committee

The Committee of General Security created on 02/10/1792 has as attributions *"everything relating to people and to the general and internal police"* . In the hands of the mountain dwellers under the Terror, he assumes the police and the repression. He naturally took care of the major affairs of this troubled era: the trial of the Girondins and the *"federalists"* or the scandal of the Compagnie des Indes. Passed into the hands of the Thermidorians, it took part in the purification by driving out the Robespierrists.

Court of Auditors, Aid and Finance

The Court of Accounts, Aid and Finance is a sovereign court, it is responsible for all cases concerning royal taxes, as well as the audit of public funds accounts. It tries first instance tax crimes, and serves as a court of appeal for lower courts. It controls and registers all the accounts and movements of funds of the administrations, which must be deposited before the Court.
Open to the ideas of the Enlightenment and favorable to the convocation of the Estates General, the Court of Accounts, Aid and Finance of Montpellier frequently clashes with the States of Languedoc, which embody the established order. In February 1789, the Cour des Comptes, Aides et Finances obtained the abolition of the Parliament of the States of Languedoc by a royal edict.
The Cambacérès family has had a career there since the 16th century: clerk, prosecutor and then counsellor.

D-E-F

Decazes Elie Duke

(Saint-Martin-de-Laye 09/28/1780 - Decazeville 10/24/1860)



An upstart and seducer, Decazes succeeds in his career thanks to women. Thanks to Queen Hortense, he became a cabinet adviser to King Louis of Holland, he pushed him to resist the orders of the Emperor and tried to negotiate the annexation of Holland. Counselor at the imperial court of Paris in 1810, to establish his situation he tries to seduce Pauline Bonaparte and Madame Mère of which he becomes the *Secretary of the commandments* .
At the Restoration, he was appointed Prefect of Police by Talleyrand on July 7, 1815. He ousted Blacas, a favorite of Louis XVIII, and had himself appointed Minister of Police on September 24, 1815 . exempt Cambacèrés from the law of exile. True head of government since the fall of Richelieu which he provoked, the ultras obtained his resignation after the assassination of the Duke of Berry.

Dittry Jeanne

(Montpellier ??/??/???? - Avignon 02/08/1818)

Daughter of Georges Dittry and Catherine de Bannes, Jeanne Dittry became the mistress of Jean-Antoine de Cambacérès . Two children were born from this union: Marie-Magdeleine in 1777 and Jean-Pierre Hubert in 1778. She married Jean-Antoine in 1787. Widowed in 1801, she obtained an annuity from her son-in-law and payment of household debts. Suspected of being a royalist agent, she undertook a trip to Paris in 1804 to extort money from Jean-Jacques Régis, but the latter asked the Emperor to intervene: Jeanne Dittry was placed under house arrest and should not longer be less than 60 km from Cambacérès.

Fievée Joseph

(Paris 04/10/1767 - Paris 05/09/1839)



Journalist and printer during the Revolution, his newspaper *La Chronique de Paris* earned him imprisonment during the Terror. Member of the royalist network of the Abbé de Montesquiou, he had to hide under the Directory. He secretly wrote a rose-water novel *La dot de Suzette* , which met with significant literary success. Arrested on Fouché's orders and released on Roederer's intervention, he became Bonaparte's secret agent. He collaborated in the *Journal des Débats* between 1805 and 1807. Appointed State Councilor in 1810, he became prefect of Nièvre in 1813.
Rallying to Louis XVIII during the first Restoration, he was dismissed during the Hundred Days. Having become one of the thinkers of the ultra party, he moved towards liberalism after 1818. Defending the freedom of the press, he was sentenced to 3 months in prison. Homosexual displayed: *"When you have a vice, you have to know how to carry it"* , Fiévée lives openly with his friend Théodore Leclerq, who accompanies him on all occasions. The two men are received together in the salons of the Restoration.

G-H-I

Grimod de la Reynière Alexandre-Balthazar-Laurent

(Paris 20/11/1758 - Villiers-sur-Orge 25/12/1837)



Son of a farmer general, Grimod de la Reynière is a talented man of letters who wants *to "make culinary art a branch of literature"* . In 1780, he founded the *Society of Wednesdays,* an association of bon vivants. His taste for the satyr and his caustic verb earned him a letter of cachet in 1786.
In 1803, he published the *Almanach des gourmands* , a monthly journal le J *ournal des gourmands.* He proposes to dedicate the *Almanach des gourmands* to Cambacérès, but the latter refuses because of his position as second personage of the State, which is why this book is dedicated to d'Aigrefeuille , first food officer and friend of Cambaceres. In 1808 he published the *Manuel des amphytrions* .
From 1803 to 1812, he resided in Place de la Concorde, where he founded the Taster Jury which met every Tuesday at 7 p.m. under the chairmanship of Cambacérès, then retired to his château in Villiers-sur-Orge.

J-K-L

Prince Alexander Kurakin

(??/??/1752 - ??/??/1818)



Russian statesman and ambassador. Fellow student and friend of Paul I , Kurakin became Vice-Chancellor of Russia on the latter's accession in 1796, but resigned after the Tsar's assassination in 1802. Kurakin's attachment to memory of Paul I earned him the esteem of Napoleon, and Tsar Alexander chose him in 1807 to negotiate the Peace of Tilsit. Appointed ambassador to Paris in 1808, he offered Cambacérès a snuff box which seemed to show Masonic links between the two men.
Kourakine was seriously injured during the fire of July 1 , 1810 (reception given at the Austrian Embassy for the wedding of Napoleon and Marie-Louise). At the time of the Russian campaign, Alexander, who was suspicious of his ambassador, considered too Francophile, left him uneducated and Kourakine could only leave France at the last moment thanks to a safe-conduct issued by Cambacérès.

Jean-Olivier Lavollee

(??/??/1776 - ??/??/????)

Lavollée found a job as a secretary at the Ministry of Justice, where he met Cambacérès in 1799. He followed Cambacérès' rise and became, with Monvel , *Secretary of the Commandments of Monseigneur the Prince Archchancellor of the Empire* . He is more particularly in charge of Masonic and private affairs (relating to the fortune of Cambacérès). Made a knight of the Empire, he married the niece of Jean-Jacques Régis, Rose Duvidal de Montferrier, widow Basterrèche, who was one of the richest women in Paris. During the Restoration, he accompanied Cambacérès in exile in Brussels, leaving his wife and children in Paris.

Lebrun Charles François Duke of Plaisance

(St-Sauveur-Lendelin 03/19/1739 - Saint-Mesme 06/16/1824)



Lawyer, then tutor of the son of the Keeper of the Seals Maupéou, Lebrun was elected deputy of the third estate to the States General. President of the department of Seine-et-Oise, he resigned after taking the Tuileries. Arrested during the Terror and released only under Thermidor, he was elected deputy for Seine-et-Oise to the Council of Elders and participated in the commission responsible for drafting the new commission after 18 Brumaire.
A moderate royalist, he was chosen as third consul. Under the Consulate, Lebrun took care with Gaudin of the financial reorganization of France and became arch-treasurer at the proclamation of the Empire. He disapproved of the abolition of the Tribunate in 1807 and ceased all political activity. Made Duke of Plaisance in 1808, he did not vote for forfeiture in 1814. Peer of France under Louis XVIII, he accepted the post of Grand Master of the University during the Hundred Days, which caused him some problems on the return of the Bourbons.

Master Pierre Jacques

(??/??/1742 - Execution 10/11/1795)

A lawyer from Rouen, secretary of the finance council, Le Maître rallied to counter-revolutionary ideas. Agent of the Comte d'Antraigues , he published a bulletin *Le Ventriloquist* , whose motto was *"hungry belly has no ears"* and in which he advocated the Restoration. His main accomplices are Father Brottier, Sourdat or Despommelles. After the failure of the royalist insurrection of 13 Vendémiaire (crushed in front of the Saint-Roch church by General Bonaparte), he was arrested on 12 October 1795 at the Palais-Royal.
During the search of his home rue Ste-Croix de la Bretonnerie, we find a compromising false correspondence between the count and Cambacérès: it describes the preparation of a royalist coup and a coup against the Convention. Although Cambacérès easily demonstrated his innocence, this affair cost him his election to the Executive Board.

M-N-O

Merlin (known as Douai) Philippe Antoine

(Arleux 30/10/1754 - Paris 25/12/1838)



A lawyer from Douais, Merlin was elected to the Estates General by the Third Estate. President of the Criminal Court of the North, he was elected deputy of this department to the Convention and joined the Legislation Committee . In September 1793, it was on his proposal that the first *law on suspects* was adopted , hence his nickname *"Merlin-Suspect"* . After Thermidor, he joined the Committee of Public Safety and passed the code of offenses and penalties (ancestor of the Penal Code). Member of the Council of Elders, he was appointed Minister of Justice then Director under the Directory.
Thanks to the support of Cambacérès, he was appointed Attorney General of the Court of Cassation, Councilor of State, Knight and then Count of the Empire. Exiled as a regicide during the Restoration, he settled in Brussels and returned to France at the fall of Charles X.

P-Q-R-S

Paved Philippe Charles François Marquis of Villevieille

(??/??/1738 - ??/??/1825)

Comrade in the Vauvenargues regiment, Villevieille was also a friend of Voltaire. A member of the Cour des Comptes, Aides et Finances of Montpellier, he naturally met Cambacérès there and became friends with him. A man of the Enlightenment, Villevieille welcomed the convocation of the Estates General and participated in the creation of the *Society of Friends of the Constitution* in Montpellier. He is part with Aigrefeuille of the entourage close to Cambacérès. Ruined by the Revolution, Villevieille lives with Cambacérès, who gets him a job as librarian at the Sainte-Geneviève library in Paris.

Ramel (known as Nogaret) Dominique Vincent

(Montolieu 03/11/1769 - Brussels 31/03/1829)

President of the Court of Carcassonne, he was elected deputy of Aude to the Convention. After Thermidor, he entered the Committee of Public Safety . Member of the Council of Five Hundred, Minister of Finance under the Directory, he invented the cadastre and applied the *"two-thirds bankruptcy"* . Exiled as a regicide, he settled in Belgium. On March 12, 1824, he pronounced the panegyric of Cambacérès in front of the Sainte-Gudule cathedral.

William Sabatier

(Montpellier 07/09/1730 - Châteaufort 21/08/1808)



Cousin of Cambacérès, Guillaume Sabatier is the heir of the oldest bank in Languedoc. Combining banking, colonial trade, the textile industry, military supplies and the general farm of Languedoc, Sabatier was also one of the directors of the last Compagnie des Indes . Arrested during the Terror, he owes his salvation to Cambacérès who succeeded in having him committed to the Belhomme nursing home. Under the Management Board, he participated in the takeover of the Société des mines d'Anzin and enabled the rapid development of his cousin's business lawyer activities.
A major shareholder of the Banque de France , he sat on the General Council from 1800 to 1803 and then resigned for health reasons. He ended his days in his château d'Ors (Seine et Oise) and bequeathed half of his immense fortune to his mistress and his natural son.

Sieyes Emmanuel-Joseph Count

(Fréjus 03/05/1748 - Paris 20/06/1836)



Sieyès was destined by his parents for an ecclesiastical career, while he dreamed of embracing a military career. Ordained priest in 1772, he became vicar general of the bishop of Chartres. He publishes two brochures: *Essay on privileges* and *What is the Third Estate?* . Sieyès is deputy for Paris in the Estates General. He only played a major role at the start of the National Assembly, his opposition to the abolition of the tithe ruining his popularity. He votes for the death of Louis XVI and limits himself to playing a behind-the-scenes role under the Terror. Refusing to work on the constitution of 1795: *"I have studied these matters in depth, but you would not hear me; I have nothing to communicate to you"* , he was elected deputy for Sarthe to the Council of Five Hundred. Appointed ambassador to Berlin in May 1798, he became director in 1799.
Instigator of the coup d'etat of 18 Brumaire, his convoluted draft constitution was opposed by Bonaparte, who ousted him and confined him to the Senate. Made count of the Empire in 1808, he rallied during the Hundred Days. Exiled as a regicide, he returned to Paris in 1830.

T-U-V

Vassal Marie-Rose of **(Montpellier ??/??/???? - Montpellier 04/02/1769)**	Daughter of Mathieu Vassal, squire adviser-secretary to the King, House and Crown of France and its Finances, controller at the Chancellery of Montpellier, and Madeleine Ugla, Marie-Rose de Vassal married Jean-Antoine de Cambacérès on January 19, 1740. The Vassals are a family of bankers, enriched in the salt trade (his brother Jean de Vassal left a fortune of five million pounds at his death). Only Jean-Jacques Régis and Etienne-Hubert survive on the eleven children born of this union.

W X Y Z

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Cambaceres (1753-1824)

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SOME OBJECTS THAT BELONGED TO CAMBACERES

A MYSTERIOUS PENDULUM



This mantel clock represents an ancient or mythological scene. Two warriors carry on their backs the dial on which an eagle is perched. The warriors are dressed in a loincloth, their weapons are placed at their feet. Around the circumference of the dial are the symbols of several constellations. On each side of the dial, you can see two fantastic animals: a wolf's head ending in a tail. Stranger is this empty armor stuck on a beam whose helmet is gagged *(click on the armor to see an enlargement)* .

A GIFT FROM THE EMPEROR



On February 17, 1806, France and Baden signed a treaty of alliance. To strengthen ties between the two countries, Crown Prince Charles of Baden must marry a French princess. Napoleon adopted a niece of Josephine, Stéphanie de Beauharnais, on March 3. On April 7, Stéphanie Bonaparte marries Charles de Bade.

On this occasion, Napoleon offered Cambacérès many gifts, including this Sèvres vase which was delivered in December 1807 with a bust of the Emperor and the last plates of the service *(see Plates)* .

It represents on one side the signing of the marriage contract with Napoleon, Joséphine, Cambacérès and the two spouses; and on the other the following dedication: *"Given by the EMPEROR on the occasion of the marriage of Princess STEPHANIE NAPOLEON with the Prince of BADEN to HSH Prince CAMBACERES Arch-Chancellor of the Empire."*



Detail of the wedding scene



The dedication

A RIESENER CHEST OF DRAWERS



This chest of drawers stamped Riesener was delivered to the Crown furniture repository in December 1776 to furnish the apartment of the Comptroller General of Finances Taboureau des Réaux *(it bears the inventory number 2885)* . In 1793, she returned to the national furniture repository which assigned her a few years later to the furniture of the Executive Board.

After Brumaire, this chest of drawers was loaned to Cambacérès to furnish the Hôtel d'Elbeuf. In 1808, Napoleon offered Cambacérès the furniture of the Hôtel d'Elbeuf; the chest of drawers is found at the Hôtel Molé and then at the Hôtel de Bragelonne. After the death of Cambacérès, we lose track of him only to find it among the collections of a German count. On December 16, 2002, the chest of drawers was sold to Drouot for €750,000.

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RESEARCH - LINKS

SEARCH ENGINE

Do not hesitate to use **Google** to search the **Cambacérès site (1753-1824)** or on the Internet:

Google [] To research

website **Cambaceres** *(French)* **Cambaceres** *(English)*

CAMBACERES SITE BANNER

If you want to link to the **Cambacérès (1753-1824)** site , you can use the banner below:



OTHER SITES DEDICATED TO CAMBACERES AND HIS TIME

國學院大學図書館 Cambaceres is known as far away as Japan. The Kokugakuin University in Tokyo has a very large collection of archives: these are online but unfortunately they are not very usable.

www.museum.ru The "Russian Museums" site devotes a page to Cambacérès. For lovers of Cyrillic, a biography and a portrait.

FONDATION NAPOLEON Official site of the Napoleon Foundation. A must for all Internet users passionate about the Consulate and the Empire, I advise you to subscribe to the electronic newsletter which will inform you every week about upcoming events.
You will find online on this site the numerous articles of the Revue du Souvenir Napoléonien.

Archives napoléoniennes en lignes Napoleonica.org Un autre site de la Fondation Napoléon Another site of the Fondation Napoléon which offers online archives and documents from the First and Second Empires: in particular the archives of the Council of State.

www.napoleonier.com Site of a passion for the Empire. Amélie takes you on a discovery of the life of the Emperor and imperial society. To discover the heading "At table under the Empire", a subject dear to Cambacérès.

APOLEON Created by *"a young Bonapartist of modern times"* , the Napoleon site focuses on the military side of the Empire (Grande Armée, Battles, Marshals...). Note an excellent bibliography and filmography.

Napoléon Empire & Gloire Another site of an impassioned imperial epic. Note a page of very rich links.

www.1789-1815.com Devoted to the period of the Revolution and the Empire, this site tries *"to get closer to the truth of this time by the systematic return to the original documents"* .

21/08/06 - Emmanuel Prunaux

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